



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service

Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

EDUCATION, WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LESOTHO AND ZAMBIA

BY

FURUGH ARDAKANI

A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF EDUCATION.

IN

INTERNATIONAL/ INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

SPRING, 1991



National Library
of Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Canadian Theses Service Service des thèses canadiennes

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-66751-6

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR: Furugh Ardakani
TITLE OF THESIS: Education, Women and Development
DEGREE: Master of Education
YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED: 1991

Permission is hereby granted to the UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

Furugh Ardakani

#101 - 10565 - 83 Ave

Edmonton, Alberta

T6G 2E3

Date: Jan 23 1991

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

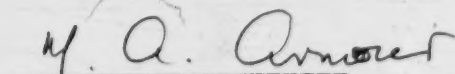
FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

THE UNDERSIGNED CERTIFY THEY HAVE READ, AND RECOMMEND TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH FOR ACCEPTANCE, A THESIS ENTITLED "EDUCATION, WOMEN, AND DEVELOPMENT - WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO LESOTHO AND ZAMBIA."

SUBMITTED BY FURUGH ARDAKANI IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION.


Dr. M K. Bacchus


Dr. M. Assheton-Smith


Dr. M. A. Armour

DATE: Dec 20, 1990

Abstract

This thesis examines the impact of education on the current position and role of women as it relates to development in Third World Countries. Given a favorable milieu and a holistic approach, education can lead to social change. The specific impact of education on women is explored as it affects their attitudes as individuals; their fertility patterns as mothers; and their participation in the labour force as workers, farmers, and traders. An examination of the educational setting for women in the two apparently contrasting cases of Zambia and Lesotho reveals underlying similarities - as a result of social, economic and cultural discrimination - in the outcome of education for women. The central argument of this thesis is that, in the context of national development in Third World countries, the education of women is pivotal and essential and, therefore, merits precedence over the education of men. A new outlook to development and education, embodying a better balance between feminine and masculine inputs, is put forward as a means to multiply the advantages of education for women and enhance the benefits for women and, consequently, for society as a whole.

Table of Contents

Chapter One

Introduction	1
Development in Perspective	1
Women and Development	2
Purpose and Overall Plan of Thesis	5
Design by Chapter	6

Chapter Two

The Role of Education in Development	11
Education and Schooling	11
Some Theoretical Framework	12
Education for Economic Growth : Social Returns	13
Education for Economic Growth : Individual Returns	14
Education for Equity	16
Educational Expansion in the First Decade of Development	17
Women's Position in the Process of Educational Expansion	18
Women and the Question of Equity	20
Critiques and Limitations of the Impact of Education in Development	21
Educational Reform and Women	29
Summary	32

Chapter Three

Women as <i>Individuals</i> : Attitudinal Effects of Education	34
Women's Roles within the Family	39
Education and Women's Status in the Family	42
Education of Women for Development	45
Summary	47

Chapter Four

Impact of Education on Fertility Patterns	
---	--

amongst <i>Mothers</i>	49
Rising Population	49
Lesotho and Zambia	51
Population and development	52
Education, Women and Population	55
Limitations	69
Summary	71

Chapter Five

Impact of Education on Women as <i>Workers</i> and <i>Farmers</i>	72
Industrialization and Women's Labour Force Participation	75
Farming and Women's Labour Force Participation	85
Women in Trade	92
Women, Education and Work	94
Summary	102

Chapter Six

The Educational Setting for Women: <i>The Cases of Zambia and Lesotho</i>	105
Women in Educational Institutions	106
Enrollments, Retention, and Outcomes of Education	109
Summary	135

Chapter Seven: Concluding Remarks: *an alternative vision*

Development: A New Vision	147
Implications of feminine input in development planning	150
Implications of feminine input in educational system	152

Bibliography

156

List of Tables:

	Page
Table One: Relationship between Fertility and Education at different levels of Development.	56
Table Two: Women's Contraceptive Use By Years of Schooling for Three Developmental Levels.	58
Table Three: Economic Participation By Broad Occupational Groups and Sex, Lusaka Urban, Zambia, 1970	78
Table Four: Mean Female Participation Rate by Regional Per Capita Income	84
Table Five: Primary School Enrollment by Gender and Grades in Zambia, 1980	112
Table Six: Secondary School Enrollments by Gender and Grades in Zambia, 1980.	112
Table Seven: Progression Rate of pupils by Gender in Zambia	117
Table Eight: Enrollments at University of Zambia by Gender and Field of Study.	119
Table Nine: Source of Finance for Further Studies in Zambia, 1976	121
Table Ten: Educational Pyramid in Lesotho, 1980	125
Table Eleven: Enrollments in Primary Schools in Lesotho by Gender	126
Table Twelve: Enrollments in Secondary Schools in Lesotho by Gender	126
Table Thirteen: Growth Rate of Enrollments in Schools in Lesotho	127
Table Fourteen: University Student Enrollments by Sex 1981/82 to 1983/84	131
Table Fifteen: Enrollments from 1975 - 77 in Vocational Training Programs	132
Table Sixteen: Educational Attainment of Unemployed Persons in Lesotho, 1976	135

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Development in Perspective

The notion of "development" generally denotes a process in which progress is made towards certain desired goals. In the past three decades, the term "development" has, for the most part, been used to indicate a collective trend towards industrialization and modernization. Both of the major political systems in the world, Communism and Capitalism, have defined progress and development in terms of economic outcomes and production. Development, therefore, has often been measured in economic terms using Gross National Product (G.N.P) - which refers to the value of total output of goods and services produced by the inhabitants of a country - as an indicator.

Following the goal of economic growth, and by a resolution of the United Nations, the 1960s were designated as the "Decade of Development", devoted to development projects around the world. The overall goal of this decade consisted of an increase in the G.N.P. both internationally, and within developing nations. For the latter, the aim was to increase the GNP in the developing countries by at least 6 per cent annually.

In increasing a country's GNP, it was believed that a trickle-down of the acquired wealth through the various layers of society would naturally occur. Thus, it was assumed that such an increase would eventually benefit everyone, including the more deprived

groups such as women. The manner by which these benefits would "trickle down" was never clearly examined. Economic growth became the main concern, while the issue of equity in the distribution of benefits was often neglected or considered as secondary.

The experience of the first development decade uncovered a number of misconceptions about theories related to the development and well-being of the people involved. The need for new socioeconomic indicators in development planning grew from the awareness that there is no simple congruence between the economic advancement of a country and the improvement of the quality of life of the majority. Although by the end of the decade an annual growth rate of 5% was achieved in most developing countries, there also were increasing rates of population growth and unemployment (Anand, 1984). It became evident that, generally, development had not improved the lot of the poor majority but, instead, had resulted in greater disparity between people's income. The same pattern occurred on the international scene where the gap between the rich and the poor countries was consistently increasing. The inverse effects of development occurred predominantly among the disadvantaged groups, including women, who make up at least half the population everywhere.

Women and Development

Boserup's work and publications in the 1970s on women's role in economic development stimulated much study and

research in this area (1970, 1975, 1981). As a result of such studies it became evident that "development" had actually harmed women (Sen, 1987). In other words, the situation of women in developing countries had become worse than it had been prior to the development thrust of the 1960s.

Historically, women at all levels of society have been involved in social and economic activities to improve the quality of life within the home and in society at large. In addition to their domestic tasks, they have also been largely responsible for providing the food and energy upon which families live. Women presently account for more than half the food production in the Third World and for as much as 80 percent of the subsistence food supplies in Africa (Sivard, 1985). However, due to the fact that they are not in paid employment, their substantial contribution to development has been overlooked.

In conventional economic analysis, women's contribution to development was overlooked because it did not contribute directly to the G.N.P. In planning for development, resources were allocated to areas of production which have direct impact on the G.N.P., thereby excluding women. Development projects often educated and trained men, encouraged them to join in industry or to grow cash crops (often at the expense of subsistence farming done by women), and provided them with tools and credit. Indeed, development projects systematically worked against women not only by focusing on the activities that excluded women, but also by removing men from activities that supported women's economic contribution. Women, therefore, remained

deprived of the benefits of development, both in absolute terms and in relation to men.

Due to the influence of development theorists and planners such as Todaro (1971, 1976, 1977) and Seers (1969), the second decade (1970s) saw a different approach to development. Although this approach was still locked into viewing a country's G.N.P. as the major indicator of development, it became evident that, if sustained development was desired, the developing countries had to utilize all the resources available to them locally. If the benefits of development were to be more equitably distributed, rural development issues, and the participation of all at the grass-roots level in the development process, had to be given significant attention. Concepts of "human capital" and "human resource training" were thus advanced. If the objective was to utilize the full range of human resources then, every effort had to be made to integrate women into the development process and to ensure that they would also share the benefits therefrom. The concept of integrating women into development was gradually advanced not only in response to the call for equity standards, but also as an economic imperative. In 1975 the United Nations declared a decade that would concentrate on women the world over.

Over a decade later, the goal of integrating women into the development process is still far from being achieved. According to Charlton, the seemingly straight forward goal of "integrating women into development projects is revolutionary in its implications because at once it challenges social and political

structures, the distribution of wealth, and cultural mores" (1984: 9). It has become clear that, in order to include women in the development process, we need to broaden our perspective and stop equating development with economic progress. Development is a multi-dimensional process which has different facets. If it is to be meaningful it has to embrace all aspects of life - including social, political and cultural - as well as all people at different levels of the society. Given this broadened perspective, an effective means by which the many facets of social order can be affected must be found.

In the past three decades a major factor, namely education, has consistently proved to be instrumental in altering the traditional patterns of production, reproduction and socialization. There is convincing evidence that shows education to be one of the most potent ingredients, in a general mix of factors, for changing women's lives. Ward claimed that the education of women has probably been by far the most important factor in bringing about changes in their roles and status, all over the world, over the last fifty years (1970). Education can potentially act on all levels of society and warrants examination as a significant tool for facilitating women's integration into development.

Purpose and Overall Plan of Thesis

With "development" as a multi-dimensional process in view, this thesis will examine the impact of education on the current position and role of women as it relates to development in Third

World countries. To lay the basis of this thesis, the need for education in the process of development will first be established. Then we will explore how education affects women's attitudes, behaviors, fertility patterns, and productive work and, subsequently, how their further education would in turn affect the development process by redefining it. Where possible, data from these countries will be incorporated as support for the arguments presented in various chapters concerning the significant role of women's education in national development.

Having explored the special role of women in the development/education dialectic, we will focus upon the educational setting - including access, retention and outcomes for women - in Zambia and Lesotho, as cases in point. Although heterogeneity in the economic and political features in these countries limits generalization, the basic issues confronting women are to a large extent similar. In the comparative study of these two countries, an attempt will be made to highlight the commonalities in women's situations. While the present study focuses on the predicament of women in the context of the Third World, the reader is reminded that the situation of women in the Developed World reflects, in different degrees, similar patterns. Contrary to the rhetoric of equality, Western countries are still predominantly patriarchal in nature, and stereotyping of gender roles in the educational system and in the professional life still prevails. Women continue to be under-represented in decision-making and policy planning at national levels. Not until an equal representation is achieved at all levels can the West claim to have

made the passage from a patriarchal system to a truly egalitarian one.

Design by Chapter

Following the introduction, chapter two will explore the impact of formal education in national development. This chapter will discuss the potential role of education in development, its prospects as well as limitations. In particular, it will discuss the implications and outcomes of education for women in developing countries.

Chapter three will deal with the role of education in liberating women, as *individuals*, in the context of family and society. The function and role of women in Third World countries will be reviewed, followed by an outline of the ways in which industrialization has tended to usurp women's function and status within the home and in society. The means by which education can foster, in women, self-confidence and new attitudes towards full participation in the public life of society will then be explored. Following this, women's roles and status within the family, both in rural and urban settings, will be examined in the light of these attitudinal changes.

Chapter four will focus on the impact of education on women as *mothers* and on their patterns of child bearing. One of the causes of underdevelopment often mentioned by the researchers has been unbridled population growth in Third World countries. Mothers who have been to school have increasingly shown greater control over their own fertility and thus are able to directly affect

the population growth in a nation. It will be shown that women's education is the most significant factor in the lowering of birth rates in developing countries. Studies will be cited that suggest that women's level of education is also related to lower infant mortality, improved health of children and family, and children's education. Details of these correlations, and their limitations, will be discussed in this chapter.

Chapter five will examine the reasons for educating women as *workers* and *producers*. The relationship between greater educational attainment, expanded options for employment, and income generating activities has been confirmed by many studies, including those done on women. Statistics will be used to show that educated women enter, and remain, in the work force in greater numbers than less educated women. Evidence of the need for higher qualifications to be able to compete for employment, advancement, and eliciting respect and prestige will be explored. Furthermore, since women form the majority of rural populations in the Third World, an examination will be made of the impact of non-formal education and training on their productivity as farmers and traders.

Chapter six will be devoted to portraying the current educational setting for women in Zambia and Lesotho. This chapter will deal with issues of access, retention, and outcome of education (the linkage between formal education and employment) for women in these countries. Data will be incorporated to analyze the issues confronting women's education

in the process of national development. The barriers to the educational attainment of women will also be discussed.

Having covered the conceptual and practical aspects linking education, women, and development in the Third World and, having used Lesotho and Zambia as cases in point, the central argument will have been clearly established, i.e., in the context of national development in Third World countries, the education of women should be given special attention and, indeed, merits precedence over the education of men. Chapter seven will conclude the study by reiterating and summarizing the arguments leading to this conclusion. These arguments have emerged as a response to the present male-dominated paradigm of development and education. Possibilities latent within a new paradigm, which would embody a better balance between feminine and masculine inputs, will then be put forward as the next target. This new outlook to development would inspire changes in the educational system and curricula which would reflect women's reality and, hence, multiply the advantages and enhance the benefits of education for women as presented in previous chapters.

An observation of the outcomes of development, which in its present form continues to be heavily influenced by economic indicators, reveals that development has failed to produce an egalitarian society and to enhance the well-fare of the majority of women. The appropriation of the term "developed" for the Western World, denotes a paternalistic outlook to development which projects development as a stage at which these select few

countries have arrived. The rest of the world is thus labeled as "less developed" and is therefore expected, or advised, to aspire towards similar levels.

Considering the interdependence of countries in the world today, such an hierarchical approach to international development, reflective of a male-dominated world-view, ignores the intrinsic richness in the diversity of human society. Using the term "developed" in reference to the West connotes an assumption that development is a *product*, overlooking the dynamic nature of development as a *process*. Progress in developing countries is contingent upon a shift in the outlook on development held in the West.

CHAPTER TWO

The Role of Education in Development

Education and Schooling

Every society, at whatever level of development, provides some form of purposeful education in order to ensure its continuity. President Nyerere of Tanzania once observed that although precolonial Africa did not have "schools", it did not mean that children were not educated for they learned by living and doing. Education, therefore, has been equated with socialization. Though some formal educational system did arise in earlier times, the formalization and institutionalization of education for children and adults is a major twentieth-century phenomenon which reflects the strengthening and expansion of bureaucracies (Charlton, 1984). Under contemporary circumstances, schooling has emerged as the medium for education and, subsequently, certification has become the measure of knowledge.

Although education and learning can be regarded as a personal process - because it has to be personally experienced - its wider implications through schooling make it a social enterprise, a purposeful process of developing human abilities in the context of a given culture and society. As a social enterprise, it is continuously shaped by the conscious efforts of educators to create certain desired outcomes. Thus, education can be referred to as a dynamic process of interaction between the personal and social spheres of life, through which the full participation of

human resources in the life of society can be realized. The outcomes of such a process are, therefore, shaped and determined by educational policy. In its ideal form, however, education and schooling should empower people to examine and choose between the alternative possibilities they confront in their lives, and to act upon their chosen course.

Some Theoretical Frameworks

Starting in the 60s, economists used the term "human resources" in estimating, along with other factors, the contribution education makes in improving productivity (Becker, 1964). Education was considered to be a capital investment and, thus, *Human Capital* theory was advanced. Schultz, one of the early exponents of the Human Capital Theory, stated that education was not to be viewed simply as a form of consumption, but rather as a productive investment because an educated population provides the labour force necessary for industrial and economic growth (1961).

The literature on development has been largely influenced by the *functionalist* school of thought which regards the process of change as being evolutionary (Unsiker, 1987). That is, change starts with an innovation in one institution or subsystem and spreads throughout the system by a process of diffusion and "multiple feedback loops". In this light education has been viewed as the single determining factor in the process of development.

The significance of the role of education has also been mentioned in other theories of development. Marxist theory sees development and change resulting from conflicts in interests between those who own the means of production (bourgeois) and those who work for them (proletariat). In the context of Marxism, Melotti identifies two essential components of development, both involving education: (1) mass literacy and (2) ideological consciousness-raising, through which the proletariat is made aware of its exploited situation (1977).

In *Liberation Theory*, the main remedy for overcoming the oppression of the poor lies in educating the oppressed to become aware of their condition. One of the main proponents whose writings led to the advancement of Liberation Theory is Paulo Friere. To him, liberation is development-- an approach to development that takes into account justice before wealth and considers education (conscientization through literacy) as an agent of social change.

Education for Economic Growth : Social Returns

As indicated, during the first decade of development (1960-1970) education was seen as a significant factor in increasing the economic productivity of the work force. The assumption that led to the consolidation of Human Capital Theory in the first development decade was that education would guarantee economic growth in three ways. Firstly, through its direct effects on increasing skills and, therefore, the productivity of the workforce; secondly, through its indirect effects on reducing

fertility rates; and, thirdly, by promoting modern attitudes which would lead to altering the traditional patterns of production. As noted in the introduction (p.1), it was further believed that the economic growth, through its spill-over effects, would trickle down to all layers in society and ultimately improve the quality of life for all. Therefore, for the Developing Countries, investment in education was seen as the most profitable form of investment.

According to studies carried out by Harbinson and Myers there is a close association between enrollment ratios at all levels of education and Gross National Product (GNP) per capita (1969). Following them numerous studies in developing countries confirmed the positive correlation between education and economic growth (Psacharopoulos, 1978; Blaug, 1973; Coombs, 1968 & 1974). Considering the costs involved and in the cost-benefit calculations made of the profitability of different levels of education for the economy as a whole, Pscharapolous argued that the highest ratio of benefits to costs is at the primary level of education (1978). In his later studies, he estimated that the rate of return on investment in primary education in developing countries is of the order of 25 percent. This compares to a mere 12 percent for higher education (1989).

Education for Economic Growth : Individual Returns

For policy makers in developing countries, investment in human capital was likely to produce rapid growth in the economy of the nation. For individuals, such investment also brought economic success (Karabel and Halsey, 1977; Blaug, 1970, 1976).

Data from all countries including developing countries, show that workers with more education earn more than illiterate workers, or those with less education. Psacharapoulos believed that the extra earnings of the educated are the economic benefits of education (1973 and 1975). He observed that, although education is not the sole determining factor in higher earnings (for example, social background or natural ability are cited as other factors), studies in almost all countries show that education is an important determinant of earnings, and accounts for well over half the extra earnings of educated workers. At the individual level higher education tends to have a higher rate of return than primary or secondary education. In agrarian societies, studies of agricultural productivity have also shown that the output of farmers is often associated with their educational level, but not in all circumstances (Woodhall, 1981).

Benefits of investment in education at the individual level are mainly attributed to a higher earning capacity as a result of increased productivity of the individual. There are a number of assumptions about the effects of education on increased worker productivity. The simplest one is that education and training provide workers with the knowledge and skills which are needed in a modern economy. Other assumptions are based on the role of education in creating motivation, self-reliance and other related attitudes valuable to employers. Some considered the role of education simply as a selective device which identifies such abilities and attitudes that are suitable for employment (Blaug, 1973 and Psacharapoulos, 1978). In other words individuals with

qualities of self-reliance and motivation are the ones who enter, remain and succeed in educational institutions.

Education *for* Equity

It has often been stated that education helps to reduce social inequalities. Considering the different patterns of inequality that exist in developing societies, education is instrumental in facilitating social mobility and promoting equity in income distribution. Studies by La Belle and Verhine, 1975; Boundon, 1973 confirmed the correlation between educational attainment and socio-economic mobility. In their studies Psacharapoulos (1978), and Blaug (1978), concluded that educational achievement is a strong predictor of improving income and occupational status in both developed and developing countries.

Wiesner considered the effect of education in promoting social equity in a different perspective. He believed that "a good educational system may be the flower of economic development, but it is also the seed." (1962:132). A better economic situation allows for further investment of resources and more widespread utilization of education. In this light, education is seen not only as a means of economic prosperity but also as an instrument for promoting egalitarianism and democracy, thus having political consequences as well as economic ones. The universal availability of elementary education for citizens enables them to participate more effectively in the political life of society. Of even greater significance, is the fact that elementary education also brings access to higher levels of education and subsequently positions of

leadership (Harbinson & Myers, 1969). Finally, depending on the nature, content, and the policies concerning educational distribution, education can be the means by which the socio-cultural infrastructure of a society might be transformed over a period of time, thereby reducing impediments to equality and development which may arise from these infrastructures.

Educational Expansion in the First Decade of Development

With the emphasis given to education economically, socially, and politically, the first development decade (1960 - 1970) saw an unprecedented expansion in education in the developing world. An initial heavy investment in human resource development was seen as necessary to get a country on the road to self-sustaining growth. Most of the developing countries embarked on various campaigns to expand their educational institutions and allocated a substantial percentage of government budget to education. One of the major goals in this period was to achieve universal primary education in the minimum possible time. A rapid growth of secondary and tertiary education was also part of the education policy of many in developing countries.

Following the goal of universal primary education between 1950 and 1975, enrollments in educational institutions in Africa, Asia and Latin America increased nearly four-fold - from 93.7 m. to 356.6 m. - and public expenditure on education also rose from 2.3% of their GNP in 1950 to 4.3% in 1977 (Bacchus, 1983). By

1980, many developing countries were spending between 20 and 30 percent of their annual budgets on the education sector.

As a result of this unprecedented expansion in education, developing countries were faced with a new wave of social and economic as well as educational problems. Gradually, it became obvious that the increase in enrollment and the expansion in educational institutions, had not resulted in improving the quality of life of the poor majority including women.

Women's Position in the Process of Educational Expansion

The second part of the twentieth century has been noted for its focus on educating the masses and its recognition of education as a fundamental right of every individual. This recognition has been proclaimed and confirmed in a number of important declarations, two of the early ones being Article 26 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention and Recommendation against Discrimination in Education, which was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO in 1960. Nearly ten years after the UN Declaration against any discrimination in education, Chabaud in her extensive research for UNESCO on women's participation in education, wrote:

Even today millions of women, whether veiled or not, live in a state of withdrawal from the world, deprived of their emancipation and self-fulfilment (1970:14).

By 1980, the World Bank Education Sector Policy Report noted that although progress has been made since 1950s, the expansion of educational opportunities has not resulted in a more equitable society (World Bank, 1980).

Women in developing countries form the largest disadvantaged group. In the process of human resource training they have been considered marginal and treated as such. Women's acceptance of male-domination, coupled with the influence of emerging modernization, has often overshadowed the developmental planning and hindered the necessary and adequate adjustments to accommodate them.

Although women's enrollment rates have been growing, and their access to educational institutions around the world has been expanded, the goal of full participation in education and development is still far from being achieved. Involvement of women in national development is closely related to their equality and access to education and employment opportunities. Lack of education and training has been a major obstacle in their participation in development. Experience has shown that new educational facilities or increased access to those that already exist, do little to encourage the education of women. In the absence of formal barriers to the participation of women, there are psychological and social barriers which contribute to their low enrollment and which limit their educational and occupational achievements.

The evidence from educational expansion in the first development decade shows that although education is a significant

factor in development, the specific socio-economic structure of society in the developing countries influence the outcome of education in regard to economic growth and social equity. Individual attainment is affected, not only by educational level, but also by other factors such as family structure and background, economic, political and social systems that discriminate against some strata of society.

Women and the Question of Equity

Even where equity is regarded as an imperative in the formation of educational policies, the way equality is perceived by the government in question begs examination. Does equality mean that all individual women should be treated the same way as men? Or, due to the present predicament of women, should they receive added privileges? According to McMahon, at least three types of equity can be considered : (1) horizontal equity, which usually means equal treatment of equals; (2) vertical equity, which refers to unequal treatment of unequals (and which raises the question of judgment in determining equality), and (3) intergenerational equity, which is concerned with ensuring that inequalities in one generation are not perpetuated (1982). Investment policies and decisions must begin with a clear statement of what is judged to be an equitable distribution of resources. The concept of equity in educational distribution is usually philosophic as well as economic. Gender inequalities are often the hallmark of educational inequalities.

World Development reports of 1980 and 1981 suggest that in developing countries efficiency and equity goals could be mutually consistent in educational planning. The 1980 Education Sector Policy Paper of the World Bank stated that equity in education and economic development goals are closely related (World Bank 1980a, b, 1981). One of the hidden factors that prevents the poorer countries from breaking out of their cycle of poverty is the poor social position of women in most of these countries. Deble has stated that governments often fail to recognize sex inequalities as a major problem hindering the development process (Kelly, 1987, p.100). In the long run, education for women will prove to be the most effective means for achieving equality between men and women and ensuring the full participation of women in development.

Education of women and realization of their full potential can lead to the unfolding of vast resources and skills which have hitherto remained untapped. As Chabaud has stated, the status of women in a country is a reflection of the level of civilization in that society (1970). Expenditure devoted to the education of women is an expression of each nation's determination to achieve progress.

Having examined some of the issues surrounding education, equity and the process of development, there is a need to explore some of the pitfalls faced by educational expansion in its role of promoting the development process. The following section examines the general problems confronting educational expansion in developing countries and discusses the limitations that led to

dissatisfaction about the role of education in development. Special reference will be made to women's position as it relates to each case.

*Critiques and Limitations of the Impact of Education
in the Process of Development:*

Following the functionalist school of thought which regarded the process of change as being evolutionary, education was seen as the golden key to overcome problems of poverty and underdevelopment. It was further believed that education would affect and alter the social, economic and political structure of society. However, the increase of educational facilities in the developing countries did not produce such outcomes. In fact, the experience of the educational revolution in the developing world has been referred to by some of the educational thinkers as the "world educational crisis", which indicates that formal education has failed to effect the desired change (Coombs, 1968).

One of the early indicators of this failure was the mismatch between the labour market and the educational system. The educational system in these countries grew much faster than the economic sector. The imbalance between school output and labour market input led to emergence of what was termed the "educated unemployed". The inevitable pressures exerted by such a growing group in the population became an economic as well as a political threat to existing governments. Education was not creating as many new possibilities and economic mobility, as was hoped.

Instead, the outcome of such expansion became a threat to economic and political structures. Weiler, one of the educationalists who criticized such expansion based on this observation, asserted that, "Educational expansion, as we now know, does not necessarily make either people or countries more prosperous; instead it may, and does, leave the former without jobs and the latter with increasingly burdensome claims on public funds" (1978:180).

On the other hand, the overt emphasis on the expansion of the formal sector resulted in discrimination in the distribution of educational opportunities. The increase in the educational facilities, in particular at the secondary and tertiary level, was geared towards training the elite minority who would enter the formal sector of the labour force. This focus deprived the majority of the rural population, including the majority of women, who were either in subsistence farming or involved in the informal sector of the country's economy. As Anand has observed, for women, the present formal educational programs are highly specialized and costly, in which case only a small group of women become educated and these few have to then compete in a narrow job market (1984).

The second problematic issue confronting educational systems in the developing countries, was the effect of "certification" on educational outcomes. Increased educational attainments and lack of employment opportunities led to the acquisition of certificates and diplomas gaining paramount significance. The emphasis given to acquire certificates affected

the quality of education. Under the condition of limited resources and the great private demand for education in developing countries, passing examinations, and criteria of selection other than learning, inevitably became means of ensuring employment.

Dore refers to this problem as the "Diploma Disease" (1976). In his studies in developing countries, he observed that certificates have replaced learning as the objective of formal education and, thus, he believes that schools have become anti-educational as a result. In this process, he blames the present selective method of examination which he maintains, has a decisive effect on measures of output from primary school and results in high rates of wastage and repetition in developing countries. In the light of the quantitative expansion of educational institutions the quality of education and the kind of training needed to improve the life of the majority poor was overlooked. As part of this process, women's needs and experiences remained irrelevant to the kind of education these countries invested in.

In addition, as a result of expansion in secondary and, in particular, tertiary levels of education, a large number of people graduating at these levels found their way to better employment opportunities in other countries where they would receive higher returns for their expenditure on education. This issue, referred to as the "brain drain", has often been noted as one of the undesired outcomes of educational expansion. Studies have shown that the private rate of return in these countries is consistently higher than the social rate of return (Pscharapoulos, 1985). In other words the government's cost of higher education

is much greater when they lose part of their educated work force to other countries.

Thirdly, a major problem arising from educational expansion in the developing world centered around the unequal distribution of educational opportunities and results. Although, originally, one of the objectives was to bring about social equality, this expansion in itself suffered inequalities in terms of distribution of facilities including the urban-rural disparity in the quality of schools and materials, as well as inequalities in the outcomes such as wage differentials, and costs.

Historically, education has contributed to the formation of social classes in society. Wherever there is a system of social stratification there is also a corresponding differentiation within the education system. As Carnoy has argued, formal education is usually class-based, leading to accentuation of social classes (1979). Many factors account for this. Children of the well-to-do will get better quality education, fewer schools are provided in rural areas, the quality of rural education is generally poor, and there are also inequalities in competing to enter the job market.

Bowles also relates the roots of social inequalities in education to class structure and uneven development of the economy (Simmons, 1980). As far as the outcomes of education are concerned, he believes that the present system of formal education reinforces a dual educational system which permits only a small trickle of poor rural children into the urban labour market. He concludes that the present system of schools is not able to promote social equality.

The policies adopted by countries for educational development depend on a crucial choice between the interests of the individual and the interests of the state - whether to be concerned with the enhancement of dignity, freedom and self-worth of the majority, by devoting public spending on primary education - or to be occupied with the glorification of the state by increasing the public spending on upper secondary and tertiary levels involving the minority elite. The increase in literacy level and primary education of the populace in itself constitutes a threat to the status quo. The elite, who have the power to influence government policies, would prefer the shift of public spending toward upper levels of education from which their own children would benefit, thus ensuring their continued dominance. Considering that women form the majority in rural areas, the urban-rural differences in educational facilities, and their access, reinforces their disadvantaged position in these countries.

Past experience has shown that the educational establishment often legitimizes the fate of the disadvantaged and their subordination. This point of view has implications for the position of women. It urges a close examination of the social power structure, the educational system, and the relationship of these two within developing countries. While most countries have passed legislation giving equal rights to women, discrimination against women, in both subtle and overt forms, still exists. The World Conference of International Women's Year recognized that: "Historical and cultural perspectives regarding the role of women at all levels of education have too often been obstacles to the full

participation of women in society" (U.N. 1975: resolution 24). It further stated that "only if a woman is given equality of educational opportunity can she make and exercise a free choice as to what her role in society will be". Social and political determination is needed to implement reforms and bridge the gap between legislated equality and actual opportunities for women.

The fourth problem which confronted the developing countries was that educational systems including organization, content, curricula, methods and materials, are to a large extent irrelevant to the needs and reality of life in these societies. In their progress from underdevelopment to development, Third World countries have been convinced that they had to follow the footsteps of developed countries. Thus they inherited and maintained the so-called "Modern" or "Western" mode of education. It has, in fact, usually been assumed that for a society to become modern, it must also become Western (Hoogvelt, 1976).

After political independence, many developing countries took measures to restructure their educational system so as to make it compatible with their development policies. But the necessary break with the colonial or western educational system did not occur; independence meant an expansion of metropolitan institutions with few qualitative changes to the western model of education. In most of these countries, the educational system continues to be a remnant of their colonial past and irrelevant to indigenous needs. D'Aeth, who did extensive research in this area, confirms the unsuitability of existing formal schooling in

developing countries, especially for the rural population. He believes that current formal educational institutions in these countries "divorce the children from their rural communities, ignore their culture, inculcate unsuitable attitudes related to urban life and fail to encourage an understanding of the environment in which they will grow up and live. As far as rural development is concerned they often do more harm than good." (1978:61).

For women the irrelevancies of curricula has been an added constraint. A good example of this is the introduction of home economics for girls in the curriculum of schools. These programs, either in the formal or non-formal education programs, reveal obvious irrelevancies. According to Rogers:

The actual content of many home economics projects and programs remains solidly housework-based, a result of the success of the Western stereotype of women as domestic, which has been incorporated into the expanding education system in Third World countries since the Second World War. . . It is not the intention here to dismiss altogether the value in a given situation of the special projects for women; it is, however, much more important to recognize the problems of pursuing this kind of approach as if it were conducive to the "integration" of women in development when too often it achieves the opposite. . . The main characteristic of the "home economics" approach, however, is the reverse: it applies a Western concept of domesticity to Third World women without attempting to understand their work in any other than a domestic context (1980:86).

In brief, in the light of the quantitative expansion of educational facilities, the qualitative development of educational

programs - namely the improvements of their aims and contents, which have a close bearing on the socio-economic development of these countries - has been neglected. This issue will be elaborated upon in chapter seven. Because of the above mentioned and similar undesired outcomes of educational expansion beginning in the early 1980s, education was suddenly regarded as an expensive luxury, absorbing an ever increasing share of economic resources, producing either a conservative elite, committed to maintaining existing income inequalities, or unrealistic school leavers with aspirations that made them unfit for actual job opportunities" (Woodhall, 1981:35). By the mid 1980s, a steady decline had appeared in the share of national resources allocated to education.

Educational Reform and Women

A review of the above criticisms shows that, in overemphasizing the role of education in social and economic transformation, its limitation in relation to social and political structure has been overlooked. Education is a powerful tool in generating and sustaining desired social changes only if it is supported and accompanied by favorable structural changes. Studies have shown that through education, both men and women could be convinced of a need for change. Thus, when other elements in society, such as economic and legal structures, are favorable, education facilitates social change. In brief, the effectiveness of education in increasing production depends on what goes along with it.

An overall examination of development in these countries confirms that there is a clear congruence between the educational system and the dominant social, economic and political systems. An educational system, being a part of the superstructure in which society operates, helps to reproduce the economic and social relationships which reinforce and characterize that society (Bacchus, 1980). Therefore, the reason for the failure of many developing countries to reform their educational system is the fact that basic features of their social and economic structure have not been reformed.

Bacchus believes that the real problem is not within the educational system. Rather, it lies with the existing social structure and overall developmental strategy of each country:

The educational strategies of these countries fit in well with their overall development strategies and therefore the criticism made of their educational programs are, to a large extent, misdirected. In fact many of these criticisms should begin with a re-examination of the development strategies and goals of these countries (1983:195)

This has been further asserted by the World Bank:

Education systems have been irrelevant to the needs of developing countries during the last two decades because education policies were often keeping company with overall development strategies which were themselves irrelevant to the societies and conditions of developing countries (World Bank Report, 1974)

The political dimension of any educational reform and its implications cannot be overemphasized. Economic and political forces shape educational decisions. Therefore, educational reform can only be possible in the context of social, economic and political transformation, which in the present global situation is also affected by international inter-relationships.

In the context of national development, issues of self-reliance and increased participation of the populace in the life of society is of paramount importance. Emancipation of women and their full participation in the process of development must, therefore, become a government priority. Bacchus suggests that a new development strategy should be adopted which will focus primarily on meeting the basic needs of the *total* population, and will pursue a self-reliance policy with maximum utilization of local resources (1983). Therefore, educational strategies complying with such developmental goals will focus on meeting the needs of the masses and reduce the disparities in life opportunities available to people.

Education for development, therefore, requires action both among the adult population and within the educational institutions. Profound changes can only occur in a favorable climate of opinion. To achieve the goal of women's emancipation and participation in development, a long process of education is needed to change the attitudes of both men and women. Calkins believes that efforts to change the situation of women in any society touch upon very sensitive matters concerning the values and norms that a society upholds and thus it takes a long time to

effect any fundamental changes in this area (1975). Education has the dual challenge to act in a way that is compatible with current values while serving as a bridge to change. Educational programs designed to promote participation of women in the development process must also be concerned with the more subtle areas of reality of women's life in society. These programs must include conscious and consistent efforts to inform the community at large in order to gain and sustain its support. Woodhall concludes that, "Any education strategy which attempts to combat poverty must simultaneously attack problems of lack of work; nutrition/hygiene; lack of community awareness; and traditional values which impede change" (1981:21).

To this point, our analysis has concerned institutionalized education and the socio-political context thereof. Recently, in order to find alternatives and improve the quality of educational systems in developing countries, specifically to make it more relevant to the needs at the rural level, the concept of non-formal education programs has been advanced. This conceptualization is especially crucial to furthering the role of women in development.

Summary

In the early years of international development, education was seen as the golden key to problems of underdevelopment. Economic development was seen to depend on the educational expansion in developing countries. However, the policy makers, in their decisions about public spending on human resource training,

have often ignored the multi-dimensional nature of development. Depending on the socio-economic and political structures, education can serve as either an agent for change, or an instrument for legitimizing and maintaining the status quo.

During the period of educational expansion, inequalities in distribution of educational opportunities resulted in the deprivation of many, including women, in the developing countries. Starting in the 80s, the awareness of the need for full utilization of all human resources in developing countries resulted in a shift towards democratization of education in these countries. It became obvious that just as development depends on the full participation of all human resources, women's participation depended on their equal educational attainments.

Given a favorable milieu and a holistic approach, education can lead to social change, through its impact on individuals, families, communities and relationships within a society. In the following chapters, we will examine the specific effects of education on the lives of women as individuals, mothers, and workers in the process of development. Attitudinal effects of education on women as individuals will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

Women as Individuals: Attitudinal Effects of Education

As discussed in the previous chapter, a major function of education, whether formal or nonformal, is to help people find their place and fulfil their roles in the society. In other words education reproduces and develops the human resources necessary for the continuation of the society in the context of its ideology, often termed "culture". In the process of socialization, the young grow up to learn and adopt the values that are accepted and practised by the society. Socialization has been defined as the process by which persons acquire the knowledge, skills, and dispositions that make them more or less able members of their society. The role of education in "properly socializing" the young generation has great implications for women's status in society.

In most developing countries women are, in varying degrees, subservient to men and grow up with a subtle inculcation of a sense of dependence on them. The instincts and attitudes that perpetuate the subservient position of women in these societies are deep rooted in the culture and social practices. Gender role ideology of both men and women is fundamental in shaping the society and the process of socialization. Sex is a biological fact, gender however, though based on biology, is a socio-cultural fact. Little definitive knowledge exists regarding the causes of sex differences. They may be the result of a genetic imperative or of

selection processes; and selection processes may be biological, environmental, or social.

Historically, according to the Women's Studies Collective at Hunter College, women have developed knowledge about the immediate world: how to prepare and preserve food, the art of cultivation, domestication of animals, preparing dairy products, spinning, weaving, the art of healing, birthing, childcare, dying, ... Men on the other hand, generated the other kind of knowledge which included creation and organization of words and written language. Subsequently, these differential functions led to differences in gender roles and expectations (1983). With the growth of bureaucracies, modernization, and industrialization, these differential contributions were further carried into differences in value and reward systems. The domestic knowledge and arts, in which women were highly versed and involved, were rated secondarily to cash generating activities which involved a separation from home activities and included the majority of men. Unpaid work was devalued and, thus, power and status went to wage earners.

It is important to note that a distinction exists between the influence and power of women as individuals within the family structure and their authority as a social category. Even in societies where families operate on a more egalitarian basis, the cultural norms bequeath men more power and influence, as a social category, in their access to education and employment.

Experience in the Third World showed that modernization affected women's status in a negative way. In Africa, during

colonialism, despite the traditional role of women in agriculture, the Western agricultural techniques and education were given exclusively to men, and, thereby, generated a gender stereotype. After independence, developmental trends further perpetuated the low status of women's work and contribution and, thus, as a social group, they were treated as second-class citizens and remained disadvantaged.

To analyse the social and psychological impact of this process on women, researchers have often used the minority group analogy. In this analogy it is proposed that women show most of the structural and psychological characteristics typical of oppressed minority groups. The most important aspect in this theory is the effect on the perceptions, attitudes, and behaviour of women in having a minority status. Based on their objective position, women, develop patterns of behaviour and self-image that reflects their oppressed status.

Women themselves may introject the negative stereotype projected by the dominant group and project this self-disdain in the form of prejudice against other women. In this light, the relationship between education and the potential for attitudinal and perception changes assumes significance for women. Increased educational attainment is usually accompanied by a wider perspective on life and greater perceptions of one's self. For disadvantaged groups, such as women, access to educational opportunities would mean an expansion of options and a widening of horizons in life opportunities. Such expansion, where it has occurred, has altered the normative framework in which

disadvantaged groups operate and has therefore resulted in a new perception of self, which in turn affects others' perceptions of them. For women, as for any minority group, educational attainment has meant self-confidence and self-worth.

Education for women not only helps to eradicate their inferior status in society, it also helps to eliminate opinions about inferiority of women. According to Chabaud, once women receive equal education, equal rights automatically follow, whilst those same rights could be useless if women were incapable of exercising them (1970). For women, education is seen as one of the key factors in social progress, which in turn could lead to reduction of disparities between sexes.

In Smock's account, progressively greater exposure of women to education has generally resulted in greater participation in social and political activities (1977). Gaskell believes that education prepares people to participate in all levels of societal activities "from labour force participation to producing ideology, both in forms of knowledge in the social sciences and in the forms of critical ideas in philosophy of life" (1987:248).

The dynamics of development create new situations in the life of a society, promotes varied options and consequently disturbs the norms and traditional expectations. For women, education and training may be the means by which they become aware of new alternatives and opportunities open to them, while at the same time equipping them with the competencies to cope with the new situations.

Whilst education helps individuals to adjust to changes it is also, at times, the means by which such changes can be accelerated. Studies have shown that levels of educational attainment correlate positively with many agents of change such as migration, urbanization (social and physical mobilization), increased use of media and change in beliefs and religion. It is possible, therefore, that the cumulative impact of formal education is greater for females than for males, since it enables them to acquire expanded horizons and the self-confidence necessary to question the traditional values and seek new alternatives (Smock, 1981).

Blaug has argued that education is economically valuable not because of *what* students know but because of *how* they approach the problem of knowing (1973). He believes that the economic value of education resides principally in certain social and communication skills imparted to students and only secondarily in the formation of those "technically required productive skills" advocated by manpower forecasters. If, therefore, education contributes to economic growth, it does so more by transforming the values and attitudes of students than by providing them with manual skills and cognitive knowledge. Woodhall also emphasizes the role of education in affecting attitudinal changes by stating that the economic value of education lies in its influence "on attitudes, motivation, social and communication skills, and not solely on its ability to impart productive skills or technical knowledge" (1981:7). For women, the acquisition of technical or scientific knowledge is important,

but even more significant is a recognition of their role in nation-building. This requires the ideological and mythological framing of their mind concerning their capacity and potentials.

Women's Roles within Family

In the developing countries the family unit is predominant in the lives of people, particularly the lives of women who often form the core of the family in these societies. It has been suggested that societal gender inequalities tend to find their roots within marriage and at the family unit level (Pahl, 1983). Therefore, a useful way to examine women's position in the society is to examine their role in the context of family.

Education has proved to have a major influence on the role of women within the family unit and while the impact of education on women as mothers will be discussed in the following chapter the impact of education on women's attitudes towards marriage and within the family as wives will be highlighted in this section.

Much of the negative impact of development for women could be related to changes it provokes in the family structure. Industrialization, migration, urbanization and the emergence of cash economies have resulted in basic changes in the structure of family life in African society. Within the traditional extended family the resources and authority did not come only from wife or the husband. They were influenced by kinship relationships and communal sanctions. Introduction of industry and expansion of urban living, tends to break down the traditional extended family

relationships. With the emergence of nuclear family structure, the authority of the extended family institution has been weakened. The nuclear household has become relatively more important as a decision-making unit.

In the traditional agricultural mode, production and distribution were directly linked to all members of the family. Women and children as well as men were thus viewed as a source of labour. Mechanization and modernization alter the pattern of production and demand specialized skills for production. With such changes women find their traditional productive skills unwanted or insufficient (Charlton, 1984). The move towards a wage earning economy replaces the function of a family as a producing unit and makes it dependent on the wage earner (D'Aeth, 1975).

Women in Rural Families

On the other hand, industrialization has resulted in large scale male migration to cities and towns. Most of the population in Africa lives in rural areas and due to limited resources in these areas there has been a growing tendency of men to migrate to cities in search of work, leaving the women to take care of the family and the property. It is estimated that, around the world today one family out of three is headed by a woman (Morgan, 1984). With industrialization and growing reliance on cash, male work is assuming more importance; female, less. Services sold by men have come to be more in demand whilst goods that women sell are not undergoing a similar rise in popularity or in price.

Women are isolated in the countryside with minimal access to the education or training that can lead to wage-earning activities. Under these circumstances women tend to be exceedingly dependant on their husbands. While women are in charge of daily decisions, they need the husbands' support and approval for any major decisions. Men retain primary control over the major expenditures of the family.

The education of women, with its consequential effects on their self-esteem and self-confidence would, under these circumstances, help increase their authority as the manager of the household and in the decision-making sphere within the home. According to studies done by Smock (1977), greater exposure of women to education has resulted in a relative increase in their sharing of authority within the family. Other studies have confirmed that educational attainments also promote self-reliance, motivation and greater use of initiative in problem-solving. Thus, education and training for women legitimizes their roles and responsibilities in family and in society, and leads to acknowledgement of their contribution to development. Armed with this realization they can exercise their roles with greater confidence and expanded authority.

Women in Urban Families

The rapid influx of the population from rural areas to urban settings in search of wage employment has been a major occurrence in the process of development. The transition from the extended family unit in rural living to nuclear family residential

arrangements in towns does not necessarily imply better and improved status for women and greater equality in sex-roles either in the wider society or within the family. The cohesive kinship units persist, primarily through a social network based on economic linkages. Smock believes that the new family structure can create potential problems for women because it thrusts them into a position of greater self-reliance at a time when they are frequently severely disadvantaged vis-a-vis males in access to schooling, monetary income, and occupational placement (1981). At the same time they lose control over the spheres of family life traditionally allotted to them, e.g; food supply and subsistence farming, and are thus stripped of the protection of traditional prerogatives.

Under the circumstances where women remain marginal and do not enjoy equal access to, and control of, the valued resources on which personal status and power are based, status and security continue to derive, for the majority of them, from marriage. It is in this light that education is proposed to be a force capable of generating new opportunities for women to free them from the pathology of dependency which has been created by centuries of patriarchal social order. As Hansen has pointed out, social and economic emancipation has affected only a small number of women who are able to obtain higher education (1980).

Education and Women's Status in the Family

In a male-dominated relationship, which has emerged as a result of industrialization and growth-of cash economy, the wife is

economically and financially dependent on her husband. This in itself leads to perpetuation of her dependency status because it would reduce her ability and willingness to oppose any decisions made for her. Under these conditions educational attainments could provide some remedy for women. Within the family power structure, education of women often tends to increase their scope of control and participation in decision-making. According to Rodman the influence of each partner in the marital relationship depends on the resources each partner brings to the marriage (1972). Educational attainment is increasingly being considered as a valuable resource. Smock believes that education constitutes a resource that has general recognition and currency both within and outside of the marital relationship and does not lose its value through time (1981). According to her, education potentially has the capacity both to enhance a woman's resources and to alter the norms governing her behaviour within the marriage.

On the other hand, education enables women to occupy roles and perform functions out of the home and thus enhances their status. This is due to the fact that under the conditions where unpaid work is devalued and controlled, power and status, are reserved for the wage-employed. Many studies have shown that a woman's power within the family grows as her access to external resources, such as employment and income, increases (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1972). Educational attainments and credentials raise the cost of non-work for the educated who remain outside of the labour force making it an incentive in itself for women to enter the job market outside the home. In brief, the educated woman

who is able to be engaged in wage employment and contribute to the family budget has greater influence within the family.

Additionally, educational attainments and the prospect for a woman, of entering the labor force with the potential ability to support herself financially, may result in the foregoing or delaying of marriage. The fact that more educational opportunities for women delay the marriage age has been experienced in the vast majority of countries. Data from many developing societies confirm that education correlates positively with higher age at marriage. The delay in the age at first marriage for girls, in itself, has an impact on the role of women in family. Women who marry at a mature age, with more confidence and information, tend to exert more control over the relationships within the family, and are able to participate more effectively in decision-making.

Studies have shown that educational attainments also correlate with women's independence and control in choosing a marriage partner. This hypothesis, that education increases women's control over marriage choice, implies that greater educational attainments will enable women to choose more compatible husbands. Educated women tend to marry men with education and from a higher social background.

In most of the African countries, a man has the obligation to pay cattle, horses, money or other property to the father of his intended bride in his consideration of their marriage. This custom (Lobola) has survived the many great changes in African life. Under such circumstances, educated girls require higher payment

in compensation for their schooling expenses and this would lead to further selectivity of partners.

Smock asserts that if marriages resulted more often from the exercise of individual choice, then it would be likely that the dynamics of interactions within the family would depend more on the characteristics and resources of the two partners, including their educational attainment (1981). It is therefore reasonable to assume that education facilitates individual choice in societies, such as in Africa, in which there are relatively few restrictions on interaction between males and females prior to marriage.

Another result of the latitude in the selection of a husband would be a decline in polygamous unions. Educated women are invariably less inclined to get into polygamous marriages. This would result from the new perceptions and expectations of women in a marriage, and their greater concerns with the inheritance rights of their children. The 1977 Kenya Fertility Survey indicated that the incidence of polygamy is inversely related to the educational level of the wife (Smock, 1981).

Although educational attainments enhance women's marital prospects, some evidence shows that the acquisition of higher education could have an opposite effect. A highly educated woman may constitute a threat to man's dominance and thus reduce her chances for marriage. In the case of unmarried educated women, there is not enough data available to show whether they remained single by choice, or whether their education causes a decrease in marital options.

Education of Women *for* Development

Development and modernization demand a new type of woman with a new role for her to participate fully and directly in the life of society. As a result of changes in women's traditional image and their roles as producers as well as mothers and wives, there are uncertainties about their role in society, both for them and for the community at large. Faced with this uncertainty, women need education that enables them to create a new image of themselves that would reflect their new mode of existence as women. Educational programs offered to girls and women must work toward creating awareness in women of their possibilities and potentialities, thus instilling confidence in them to perform the roles for which they are being educated.

The educational and professional decisions which women make are influenced by their defined role in the family and society. In the absence of formal barriers, there are social mechanisms that inhibit women's motivation or prevent their educational attainment. Studies have shown that motivation is one of the most important determinants of a pupil's success in education (Woodhall, 1981). In order to promote the participation of women in education in these societies, it is vital to consider how to motivate girls and women to gain more education. Crone has argued that motivation comes when people are given an opportunity to learn things that they see as critical and of immediate value to them in their everyday life (1978). Thus, the anticipated result, in terms of employment opportunities and

outcomes, is a determining factor for women when they consider pursuing further education.

While it is imperative that women be educated in order to participate more fully in society, the nature of this education has to be revised and the socio-economic and cultural conditions need to be re-examined. In the past, there has been a tendency to analyze education in a social, political and economic vacuum. In order to improve women's education, we need to identify the assumptions, values and priorities that underlie educational development. At present, as Swaena Jayaweera has observed, "the differential outcomes of general education indicate that the education system - through its role as agent of social control and its legitimization of the distribution of knowledge, skills and credentials - tends to reinforce gender inequalities embedded in social norms and structures" (1987:455).

If the goal is to broaden educational opportunities available to women and make education more relevant to the needs of women, it is of vital importance to realize that women must be encouraged to become active agents of educational change. They must be involved in identifying needs and seeking solutions and alternatives to development issues. They need to be empowered to choose the type and form of education that best meets their wishes, needs and interests.

Summary

In this section the impact of education on improving women's life as individuals and its subsequent effects on the

welfare of family were discussed. According to Smock, improvements in lives of women which occur as a result of schooling ultimately lead to promotion of social well-being in the society (1981). Also important is the means by which education mediates the interaction between the private and public spheres of the life of women. A change in attitudes is possible, and education does facilitate this process, but it should be associated with a wider process of societal development and change. Some of these points will be further discussed as we examine the specific impact of education on women in regard to fertility patterns in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

Impact of Education on Fertility Patterns amongst *Mothers*

In the socio-economic and cultural context of less developed countries, and under the situation where a large family is considered as an asset rather than a liability, the decision to have a large family is a conscious and rational one. The desire to have a son for family status reasons, or the desire for a large family in the hope that the surviving children will provide labour, as well as security for parent's old age, brings most women in low income societies to have a predilection for procreation. Most women in Africa spend a good portion of their lives in a continuous state of pregnancy, birthing, and child rearing.

Rising Population

The issues of child bearing must first be seen in the context of burgeoning Third World populations. Historically, the size of the population has been stable or has shown a slight increase. There has been high fertility in most societies, but when it was not checked by low fecundity (the ability to have children) due to disease or poor nutrition, it was usually balanced by high mortality (Marden, 1982). In recent times, however, trends have altered drastically.

As a result of improvements in the conditions that traditionally caused high mortality, population growth has

become a major issue. The rise in life expectancy - due to improved nutrition, higher living standards, medical advances in public health provision - has led to a rapid increase in population everywhere. Over the span of one generation, the number of people in the world doubled (after World War II), with most of the increase concentrated in the developing countries (Sivard, 1985). Statistics produced by the United Nations indicate that in 1982 nearly half the world's population lived in the least developed countries with an average GNP per capita of only \$270.

The highest rate of population increase occurs in poor countries where the number of births far exceeds the number of deaths. Such growth in population has been an added strain in the development and expansion of the weak economies in these countries. In agriculture-dependent areas like most of Africa, growth in population is faster than food production. The limits placed by natural resources and the economy's inability to provide new jobs for the growing population have caused serious problems. On the other hand population pressure has affected public programs for social development, such as education, health, and care of the elderly.

Most economists have considered high rates of population growth as a major "stumbling block" to economic development efforts. They note that to produce real increases in per capita income, high rates of economic growth are needed. Under conditions of rapid population growth the presence of a very young population that results from high fertility levels make such economic growth improbable (Easterlin and Crimmins, 1985).

Development in developing countries, has brought with it an increase in the population growth. Improvements in health conditions to a certain extent have increased women's capacities to bear more children and have reduced child and infant mortality. On the other hand, the changes in traditional constraints on sexual relations, which used to increase the space between births to married women and, in the case of young unmarried girls to illegitimate pregnancies, have resulted in more pregnancies. This pattern itself leads to deterioration of the health of women and limits their activities outside the home.

As a social group, women have been directly affected by the adverse impact of population growth. Their range of responsibilities in providing nutrition, health, sanitation, the care of children and elderly has been further expanded leading to an increasing number of women at poor health and poverty levels.

Lesotho and Zambia

Lesotho and Zambia, the countries that will be focused on in chapter six, provide a good example of the effects of population growth in development in Third World countries. In Zambia, the high birth rates are reflected in the youthfulness of its population.

Almost sixty per cent of the population as enumerated in 1980 was under twenty years of age (Fagerlind and Valdelin, 1983). With a population so young, Zambia's high birth rates can be expected to continue for a long period to come (Msimuko and Khasiani, 1981). The population in Lesotho also shows the young age structure typical of the developing countries. According to the

Household Survey (1977), forty per cent of the population is under 15 years of age and only four per cent is older than 65 (Timaeus, 1984).

The World Bank Report indicated that with limited opportunities for emigration, most of the poorest and many middle income countries are likely to double their numbers in the next 20 to 40 years (1984). Zambia's population is one of the fastest growing in the world. Its growth rate of 3.1 percent per year during the 1970s surpassed the world average of 1.8 percent as well as the African average of 2.9 percent (FAO 1982: p.5). Life expectancy at birth, in Zambia, has risen from 41.8 years for males and 45.0 years for females in 1969 to 47.0 years for males and 50.0 years for females in 1980. Although there can be unforeseen circumstances and factors, generally all available indications in this country show that with the current growth rate, a doubling of the 1969 population will take place by the year 2000 (Ohadike, 1975).

In Lesotho, a similar pattern seems to be emerging. In a survey published by the United Nations, the rate of population growth in Lesotho, is considered too high (1980-81). Life expectancy at birth has risen for males from 41.7 in 1970 to 45.7 in 1980 with an estimate of 53.7 in the year 2000. These figures for females have risen from 44.9 in 1970 to 49.0 in 1980, with an estimate of 57.0 in the year 2000 (Taylor, 1985). In the same report it is pointed out that this high rate of population growth (2.4 per cent per year) is a "major constraint to development and has adverse effects on child and maternal health".

Population and Development

Since the size, composition and distribution of population have major influences on the level and utilization of development resources, an awareness and concern has emerged about the unbridled birth rates. According to Brown and Jacobson:

Our contemporary world is being divided in two by demographic forces. Nearly half of the world, including the industrial countries and China, has completed or nearly completed the demographic transition . . . In the other half, where birth rates remain high, rapid population growth is beginning to overwhelm local life-support systems in many countries, leading to ecological deterioration and declining living standards. Once this deterioration begins, rapid population growth and ecological deterioration feed on each other, pushing countries into a demographic trap . . . (1986:5).

The development planners have suggested that unless mortality control is matched by economic growth, and/or fertility control, the conditions in poor countries will steadily deteriorate. Under extreme circumstances, where effective contraception is not in use, Scrimshaw suggests that high fertility may include a significant number of "unwanted" births, which in turn may possibly encourage child abuse, and, in the extreme, culturally condemned infanticide (1981). Population planning efforts in these countries are therefore needed, not only for the purposes of socio-economic progress, but also for its benefits to maternal and child health. For instance, the target set by the United Nations for

Lesotho has been to reduce the rate of natural increase to 2.00 per cent per year through reduction in fertility.

There are often two popular explanations for high fertility rates: one is lack of availability of family planning devices and the other is lack of motivation; that is, there is little incentive for parents in developing countries to limit their family size (Easterlin and Crimmins, 1985). Coal identifies the same issues as part of the main preconditions for fertility control. He believes that fertility must be promoted through conscious choice and that effective techniques of fertility control must also be known and available (1973).

Lawton stated that the demographic variables that shape population trends and structure, are crucial for the estimation of the future needs of the existing population and patterns of population development. However, he admits that official policies concerning birth control touch on personal attitudes and relationships within often deeply rooted social, cultural and religious norms, practices and values which are also supported by institutional structures (1986). Women are generally socialized to derive their total gratification through family roles while men can look both to occupational and family roles for fulfilment. Thus, population, as an issue, is more than a matter of demographics, it involves many non-demographic issues such as social and cultural concerns. Perhaps indicative of this fact would be Cleland's observation:

The main lesson of the last twenty years is that birth control programmes will not achieve their objectives, except in the context of broader social change, whether it be deliberately engineered by governments or arise as the by-product of the spread of education (1985:249).

In brief, family planning services are essential, but they can succeed only to the extent that a demand for lower fertility exists among parents, particularly among women.

Education, women and population

Control of mobility and fertility are largely matters of individual choice. Lawton suggests that indirect measures which move people to change their demographic behaviour often seem to be more effective than direct policies which attempt to compel changes (1986). The effects of education in generating attitudinal and societal changes were discussed in the previous chapter. These changes may well include values concerning child bearing, child rearing, the role of children and women in family and society. Education of women potentially can lead to new fertility behaviour and promote a shift from what is called a natural fertility regime to one of deliberate control of family size by individuals.

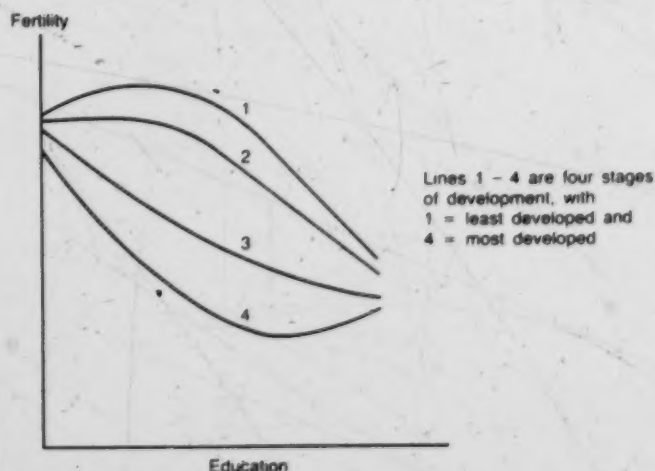
Findlay asserts that the introduction of mass education has undoubtedly been one of the most important determinants of the timing of fertility decline in the Less Developed Countries (1987). Caldwell, in his extensive research in Developing Countries, also

sees mass education and exposure to the mass media as ushering in changing attitudes conducive to lower fertility:

Education appears to cause the most changes. it challenges traditional authority, gives females an absolute criterion of value for comparison with males, teaches girls new aims and destinies that almost always include some move towards the more egalitarian Western family structure, and changes husbands' appreciation of themselves, and childrens appreciation of their mothers (1981:114).

Most demographic literature and research in Africa suggests that there is an inverse relationship between the higher level of educational attainment of parents on the one hand, and the fertility rate, on the other (See Diagram 1) According to Cochrane, one of the most pervasive factors influencing fertility control behaviour has been the growth of formal education (1979, 1983).

Table One: Relationship between Fertility and Education at different levels of Development.



Adapted from

Source: United Nations Population Division, 'Recent Trends and Conditions of Fertility', paper presented at the UN Expert Group Meeting on Fertility and Family, New Delhi, January 1983

Both paternal and maternal education have negative effects on fertility. Studies have shown that the effects of fathers' education are mainly through pure economic channels. These effects are more observed in cities, where education produces more income, which in turn may improve health because of availability of basic goods and services such as: food, clothing, medical care, housing, sanitation and other health-related items. However, since the population in most developing countries is predominantly rural, the effect of fathers' education for an entire country tends to be weaker than the effect of mothers' education. Cochrane's research shows that, in certain regions, the effect of mothers' education on fertility is about three times as great as the effect of fathers' education (1983).

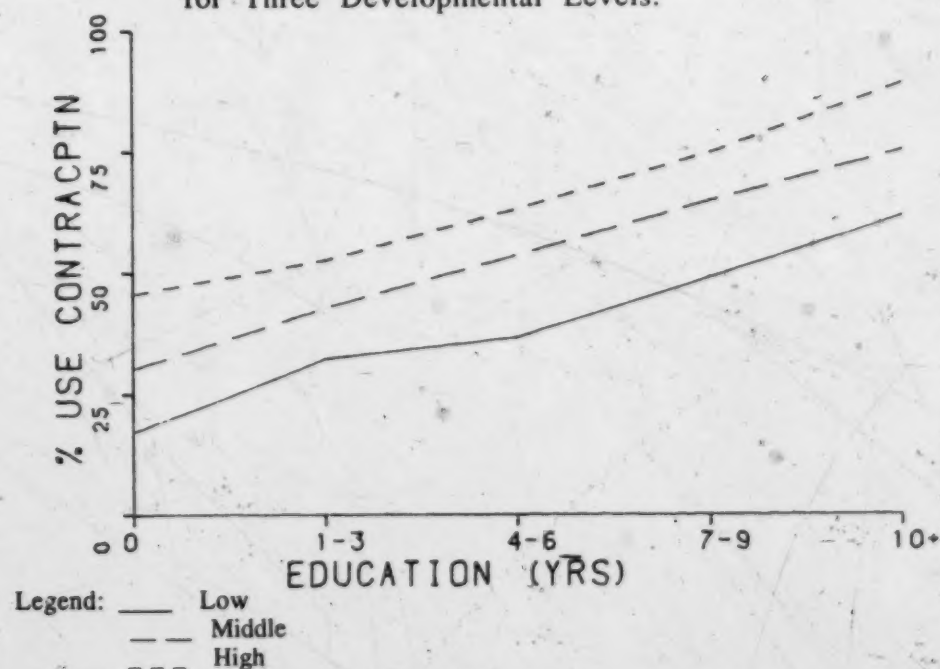
Mothers' education, on the other hand, exerts its influence on fertility primarily through effects related to child bearing and child caring practices. Education for mothers acts through many variables which in turn determine fertility. These include literacy, age at marriage, reduced infant and child mortality, occupation and income, urbanization, status, and family dynamics. Each of these variables will be briefly discussed in turn.

Literacy as a determining factor

One of the most evident variables in determining fertility is the level of literacy of women. The ability to read facilitates access to information and knowledge concerning family planning. According to the analysis by Hinchliffe, the contraceptive awareness and the use of family planning devices in Africa,

compared to other regions in the world, is very low. Awareness averaged 45 percent compared to 84 percent in Asia and 95 percent in Latin America. Contraceptive use averaged 26 percent, 40 percent, and 61 percent respectively in the three regions. For modern or efficient forms of contraceptives the averages were 6, 32, and 49 percent respectively (1987). The World Fertility Survey discovered that women's ability to read and write was more closely related to their fertility, their use of contraception and their children's health than even their income. Literate women are more likely to make use of family planning services. (See table two).

Table Two: Women's Contraceptive Use By Years of Schooling for Three Developmental Levels.



Adapted from Source: "Relationship between Fertility and Education: A Comparative Analysis of World Fertility Survey". United Nations, 1983

The low levels of literacy and basic education attained by women affects society as a whole. Recently, planners have also become interested in the inverse relationship between literacy training and population growth - the extent to which population control as a factor contributes to the elimination of illiteracy (Lestage, 1982).

Age at marriage as a determining factor:

One of the immediate causes of high fertility is universal and early marriages. Because of early marriages, levels of fertility in African countries are higher than other regions of the world. According to the studies done by Hinchliffe, 40 percent of women, aged 15 - 19 years in the African sample, have married, compared to 32 percent in the Middle East, 26 percent in Asia and 20 percent in Latin America. The reported number of children of ever-married women aged 45 to 49 years ranges from 8.3 in Kenya to 5.8 in Lesotho (1987). In Lesotho, Timaeus observed that almost every one marries eventually. According to his analysis of the Household Survey data, the mean age at marriage is 20.1 for women and 24.8 for men (1984). With such an early age of marriage, various estimates based on this survey and the Lesotho Fertility Survey indicate that the total fertility rate per woman in this country is between 5.4 and 5.7 births (Lesotho Bureau of Statistics 1981a, 1981b).

One of the indications of the negative correlation between fertility and women's education is the delay in the age at which marriage occurs. Schooling for girls has proved to cause

delay in marriages. A higher age of marriage, for women, reduces their possible number of child bearing years. Cochrane states that the biological supply of children depends on the years of exposure to pregnancy (which is based on the age at marriage), the fecundity (potential fertility) and the survival of children. There is good reason, she asserts, to believe that education affects all these factors (1979).

The association between age at marriage and formal education among women surveyed by the World Fertility Survey (WFS), has been emphatically asserted in many analysis. Hinchliffe observed that, in Africa, differentials in age at marriage by education is larger than in other regions (1987). Delayed marriage for males in Africa may also be attributed to the prospects of greater bride wealth (husband's payment to bride's family) which normally increases with education of women and thus generally delays marriages (McDonald, 1984).

Studies in developing countries show that the more rural the society and the lower the educational level of both men and women, the lower is the age at marriage. Also, the less frequently women worked outside the family circle before or after marriage, the lower the age at marriage (McDonald, 1984).

Moreover, research has shown that age at marriage is largely exogenous to the decision on fertility control. Women who enter marriage at a mature age have relatively greater control over their fertility. On the other hand delay at age in marriage also leads to better and more mature maternity care and thus

results in reduction in child and infant mortality (which will be further discussed later in this chapter).

Reduction of infant and child mortality as a determining factor:

Another intervening variable in this correlation is the way in which maternal education potentially helps in reducing infant and child mortality. As was mentioned earlier, in developing countries the rates of child and infant mortality are high. The 1976 Census Report in Lesotho considered a wide range of evidence and produced estimates of the infant mortality rate that range between 103 and 122 per 1000 births (Lesotho Bureau of Statistics 1981a). Under the poor conditions in the developing countries, parents may anticipate future child deaths by planning for extra births or respond to the death of a child by increasing the number of their children (Preston, 1978).

Several hypotheses have been advanced to explain the association between mothers' education and child survival. Some authors believe that within any society maternal education itself, rather than the standard of living in general, is the key factor affecting levels of mortality among children (Caldwell, 1979). Improvements in medical technology and their availability are not in themselves sufficient to reduce child mortality. Educated mothers are more able, within the family, to promote child health because education inculcates health knowledge, beliefs and practices that improve their use of health services. a mother's lack of health education will increase the likelihood of her child

being exposed to health risks. Children of educated mothers have higher life expectancies because of the very different social and economic environments in which they are reared. Almost all countries examined in WFS (World Fertility Survey) have shown a significant effect of mother's education on mortality at some age below 5, even when some or many other variables are introduced. Even with comparable incomes, households with educated mothers may spend more on food or health services, or the available food may be used more effectively and distributed more equitably, leading to children's better nutritional status (Caldwell, 1979).

Education also effects mortality through influencing one or more of the proximate variables such as better maternal and child diet, proper breastfeeding and weaning practices. On average, an additional year of mother's schooling was found to be associated with a 9 per thousand reduction in child mortality. Of this, 6 per thousand were judged to be a direct result of mother's education and 3 per thousand a result of higher income family situations (Hinchliffe, 1987).

On the other hand, a clear and consistent relationship has been observed through WFS in many countries between birth spacing and infant mortality. If mothers did not give birth within two years of a previous birth, this alone would reduce infant mortality by at least 15 per cent (Scott and Chidambaram, 1985).

Reduction from high levels of fertility improves women's health as well as their children's. Education and basic knowledge concerning these issues will further women's willingness to

increase the intervals between giving birth. Educated mothers consistently show evidence of better spacing between child births.

Improvements in survival prospects of children gradually alter the custom of promoting high fertility in order to compensate for anticipated losses. Thus education for women, through its effect on reducing child mortality, increases the desire, and probable ability, to regulate fertility.

Occupation and income as a determining factor:

Maternal education is usually associated with a host of other socio-economic variables, such as occupation and income, which also have inverse effects on child mortality and fertility. The most meaningful of the indicators examined in studies in Less Developed Countries were the level of female education and the percentage of women who had worked in non-agricultural occupations before marriage (McDonald, 1984).

Traditionally, women's roles have been defined within the boundaries of the family. In the absence of education and consequent occupation, no role existed in society for single post pubescent women except that of motherhood. Research in the 1960s saw the promotion of female employment as a powerful means of reducing fertility (Collver and Langlois, 1962). Even in an agriculture-dependent economy, Chaudhury believes that agricultural employment has a negative effect on fertility, while housework does not have the same effect (1974).

One of the ways in which women's work experience influences fertility is by way of its effect on the age at marriage,

the dynamics of which were previously discussed (see page 10). According to Standing, premarital work experience immediately following school determines the age of marriage and of first pregnancy (1983).

The changes in income of a family which results from employment of educated mothers may also lead to significant changes in desired family size. If better education improves the income-earning possibilities of women, then the alternative cost of the mother's time spent in child-rearing is increased. The opportunity cost of an educated mother, measured by the net wage she can earn in the job market, makes time-intensive activities like child rearing more expensive. Thus a tendency towards reduction in the demand for children occurs.

Cochrane sees education as effecting the way parents perceive the costs and benefits of having children, thereby effecting the demand for children (1979). With the rising cost of living, parents perceive fewer and fewer advantages to having large families. The schooling of children and adults are both influential in decisions concerning child bearing. The former because it affects the cost of children and reduces the immediate contribution of child labour to family income, and the latter because it influences attitudes and broadens perspectives on life opportunities (Singh and Casterline, 1985).

In the same way, Caldwell also believes that all fertility transitions are determined by two factors: the primary one being the decreasing economic advantage of having children, and the secondary one being women's increased ability to determine their

own fertility (1983). Hence, the concept of child quality gains more importance whilst the quantity loses its significance (Hess, 1988).

The other implication of effects of income on fertility, according to Hess (1988), is that increases in cash income enable greater wealth to be accumulated. With the new life style and consumption patterns, parents may attempt to provide for their own old age security through cash and other savings, rather than relying on their children.

Urbanization as a Determining Factor

The effect of education on fertility extends to the impact it has on demographic mobility and urbanization. As was discussed previously, education has proved to facilitate social and physical mobility, modernization and urbanization. Urbanization reduces the demand for children and their labour input in the farming environment, on the one hand, and increases the cost of living and raising children in an urban environment, on the other. Thus a transition occurs in the role of children from producers, in the rural farming system, to consumers, in the urban life system. This transition that accompanies urbanization tend to depress fertility.

Concerning the emerging pattern of rural-urban transition and fertility behaviour in African societies Hess remarks:

Fertility is sustained at a high level in most of Africa by the nature of its society and above all by the structure of its families, which renders the gains to be made by the restriction of family size small or even negative. Change is under way as shown in almost

every society, by the way of life of small minorities, almost microscopically small in sub-Sahara African countries. . . . the Western prototype is almost the only model for change and it is taught by the media, schools, and international expectations (1981:114).

The urbanization trends and changes that have taken place in Zambia have been rapid, and comprehensive. This country, once characterized by village society, has changed its features by a rapid rate of urbanization. In 1963, 20 per cent of the total population lived in urban areas. This proportion rose to 43 per cent in 1980 (CSO, 1981). During the 1970s Zambia's rural population grew at the rate of 11 percent per year, while the urban areas grew at a rate of 6.7 percent annually. Educated parents typically desire a better education for their children and realize that to fulfil these aspirations the family size needs to be limited.

Women's status as a determining factor:

A number of studies have emphasized that women's status may be an important variable in determining fertility (Mukerjee, 1977). Evidence shows that women's willingness and ability to make fertility decisions is related to her status within the community. Although the experience of becoming a mother and having a living child is valued, expected, and even demanded of a woman every where in Africa, the number of children that a woman has does not necessarily determine her status. Studies

have shown that, on the contrary, her status in most cases determines the number of children (Reining et al, 1977).

A women's contribution to the family income is conducive to her increased status in terms of decision-making within the family (including the child bearing decisions), both in the traditional and the modern sector. Income generating activities for women also increase their status by giving them a more positive self image not solely based on motherhood. Women, for whom motherhood and all its obligations remains central and the only means to their personal sense of worth, are less likely to be open to family planning. The quality of hope and self-confidence that a woman has concerning her future, based on her socio-economic circumstances, has great influence on her desired family size (Reining et al, 1977). Belief in the efficacy of science, and ambition for herself and her children, are among the most important elements in altering women's fertility behaviour.

The implications of some of the findings are that differences are small when it comes to the size of family that women desire, but that less educated women are less effective in achieving their stated intentions (Singh and Casterline, 1985). Estimates of ideal and desired family size have often been useful theoretical indicators of the possible level of fertility in a community. Educated mothers are more able to quantify their ideal or desired family size, whilst the uneducated ones are usually undecided or abandon themselves to fate and destiny.

According to Rogers: "The evidence suggests that birth rates are lower when women make decisions about their own fertility

and have the means to implement these decisions" (1977:8). Educated mothers tend to be more apt to discuss between themselves and their husbands the optimum number of children they desire (Scudder and Colson, 1980).

In a broad perspective, family planning not only improves women's health but also indirectly encourages the pursuit of educational and employment opportunities. It creates space in a woman's life and frees her for other types of productive activities.

Family Dynamics as a determining factor:

With the recent micro-analysis research on fertility patterns, a new point of view has emerged. The hypothesis is based on the fact that family dynamics intervene in the changing role of women and consequently determine the fertility outcome. Thus, the family internal interaction would influence the fertility outcome. The argument is that, it is difficult for a woman to take on new, non-traditional roles without the support and validation of these roles by other family members (Cogswell and Sussman, 1975). Evidence shows that communication between husband and wife increases contraceptive use and reduces fertility (Ramakumar and Gopal, 1972; Simmons and Culagouvski, 1973). Complementary to this is evidence to show that education increases the level of husband-wife communications (Mukherjee, 1975). Thus a final relation can be assumed between education and general use of contraceptives.

A diagram of the multiple effects of women's education on child rearing behaviour has been offered by Cochrane (1979:29):

Multiple Effects of Individual Education :

Individual Education	Literacy	Access to information
		Broader Perspective
	Skills	Nonmarket efficiency
		Market opportunities
	Certificates	Status
	Socialization	Attitudes
		Behaviour Patterns

Limitations

It is important to note here that the negative relation between fertility and education basically occurs at the secondary and higher levels of education. The results of the World Fertility Survey show that in Less Developed Countries a few years of education for women is often associated with a rise rather than a fall in fertility. Limited amount of education leads to improved maternal health thus, increasing fecundity which was traditionally reduced by disabling diseases, but not to any substantial change in attitudes towards child-bearing. Also, educated women may be more willing to dismiss traditions and taboos on post partum pregnancies, and they tend to go for shorter durations of breastfeeding (Jain and Bougaarts, 1981), thus cutting down on

the protection afforded by lactation amenorrhea (Leridon and Ferry, 1985).

An examination of the findings from the World Fertility Study generally supports this argument:

Education has a negative effect on fertility, but not universally so; often the relationship, instead of being monotonic, is hump-shaped and contains an educational "threshold" [on the average, three to four years of education] prior to which fertility either remains stationary or increases as the level of education rises. . . . Curvilinear patterns . . . are common among countries just beginning to develop; the pattern becomes monotonically negative and thresholds disappear in middle-income, high-literacy countries Contraceptive use, moreover, was found to be positively linked to education monotonically (that is, without thresholds) . . . (United Nations, 1983, pp. 84-86).

Social and cultural factors which directly affect behaviour and attitudes seem to be the key influences on fertility patterns. These can only be affected at secondary and higher levels of education. Therefore, the strongest link to decreased fertility has been that of secondary education which is negatively correlated with fertility:

According to the World Fertility Survey findings, it is only when parents have achieved secondary schooling that reduced fertility becomes inevitable. Without exception among WFS participating countries, women with secondary schooling have fewer children, largely because of delayed marriage but also because of greater contraceptive use (Gille 1985:278).

Cochrane also confirms that the relationship between fertility and education may not be monotonic. In the short run education may increase actual fertility but in the long run the positive effects of education on fertility may become negative (1979). This time lag is due to the fact that it takes time for parents to recognize the increased ability to have live births, and surviving children. Thus in poor countries fertility rises before it falls (Leibenstein, 1977).

Summary

To summarize the potential effects of education on women's social behaviour related to fertility, Holsinger and Kasards offer the following account: Formal education potentially limits fertility: 1) by delaying marriage and thereby reducing the total possible length of the child bearing years of life; 2) by imparting to women a sense of self-efficacy, control over one's fate, and trust in science and technology; all of which are conducive to a rational approach to fertility regulation; 3) by enhancing prospects for female labour force participation and thereby offering alternatives to motherhood roles for women through which they may satisfy their needs for status, fulfilment and security; 4) by facilitating the acquisition of information on contraception devices; 5) by increasing the parents' aspiration for upward mobility and the accumulation of wealth, that are incompatible with large family sizes; 6) by permitting consultation between parents on such sensitive issues; 7) by investing parents with the knowledge to promote health in their family and reduce the need to bear potential child replacements (1976).

CHAPTER FIVE

Impact of Education on Women as *Workers* and *Farmers*

After having assessed the role of education in development, the previous chapters discussed, more specifically, the effects of education on women as individuals and the impact of education on mothers' fertility patterns. In this section the role of education in integrating women into the work force in developing countries will be highlighted.

Traditionally, in agrarian societies, men and women were jointly engaged in production within the home. The advent of new forms of production and the cultivation of cash crops facilitated the division of labour, identifying men with the productive sphere outside of home and women with the reproductive activities within the home. Subsequently, industrialization resulted in separation between family functions and economic production, accentuating the gender specific work of men and women.

Work in the public sphere, generally male related activity, is often more highly valued in the form of prestige and better rewarded in terms of economic advantages. The modern, industrialized society is usually seen as conferring power on individuals through control of economic resources. The lower value given to home activities and women's role has thus perpetuated the unequal distribution of power between men and

women. The social relations and structure of gender differences have been further intensified by males' greater access to educational opportunities which have, in turn, enabled them to gain control over the industry and the economy.

Data from related research attest to the correlation between the nature and scope of women's economic roles and their status in society (Giele and Smock, 1977). Insofar as women's status is defined as their access to economic resources, it is not incorrect to state that, in the process of development, women in developing countries have lost status. Women's traditional sources of livelihood were disrupted without an equitable redistribution of new economic and social resources generated by development and economic growth (Tinker, 1976).

While undergoing development, major changes occur in the economic sector of a country. Such changes include industrialization, the modernization of agriculture, the expansion of wage labour, the emergence of a private sector, and, generally the spread of cash economy. For most developing countries, development has meant integration into the international market system. The notion of growth, therefore, is to be manifested in increased economic production (Anand, 1984).

The movement of working people from agriculture to manufacturing has been referred to as a process of economic growth. The economic activity, therefore, is one which results in a production of a marketable product or a service offered for pay. According to Psacharopoulos the term "economic activity" denotes such activities that contribute to the recorded production of a

country (1988). Towards this end, an indication of involvement in development has been what is termed the rate of "labour force participation".

Psacharopoulos defines "labour force participation rate" as a ratio of individuals who are economically active (labour force) to the total population, that is the population "at risk", of being economically active (1988). Development planning has invariably aimed at raising the labour force participation rate. Development projects therefore, are often targeted towards those directly involved in the labour force. This in itself has led to exclusion of the majority of women.

Labour force participation rates, as the measure of women's economic involvement, present conceptual difficulties. The activities that women undertake, although economic in nature, often fall into the category of unpaid family household work, or subsistence farming, and therefore escape being recorded. In 1970, statistics in Zambia showed that 32 percent of women workers were in the category of unpaid family workers, whilst this figure for men was 4 percent (GRZ, 1970). Women's significant contributions to socio-economic spheres of society have thus been ignored and this, along with local patriarchal ideology, has resulted in exclusion of women from development programming. Indeed, planners have frequently targeted the programs only for men (Boserup, 1970; Tinker, 1976).

Psacharopoulos asserts that even where the work of women is recorded in the national statistics, the rate of women's labour force participation is underestimated and under-enumerated due

to the fact that it neglects the particularities of womens' work practices. They neglect the part-time, seasonal, and casual workers, the majority of whom are women and youngsters. In addition, the definition for working age limits are not clear, and upper and lower age limits for women workers are not set in a meaningful way. Even within the prime-age category for women who are potential suppliers of labour, the statistics do not include those who, for reasons of poor health, are unable to be employed (1988). Thus, the interpretation of statistics is open to question because it is often presented in the context of a male dominated ideology.

Industrialization and Women's Labour Force Participation:

The pattern of industrial growth in developing countries tends to favour only a small part of the population, often in urban areas rather than rural. In Zambia and other developing countries, the economy is characterized by the phenomenon of dualism - both economic and social. Economic dualism implies the co-existence of two systems within one economy: the first system is the small modern "formal sector"; the other is the "informal sector" made up of both the traditional rural communities and the urban masses (Bardouille, 1980).

The effects of industrialization on women in general have been contradictory and mixed. The new industrial plants provide employment opportunities for women and the industrial wages and benefits are often higher than wages for agricultural workers.

The low paid labour provided by women make them a sought after group by the industrial employers. Thus, women have been increasingly moving out of agriculture into industry and service, especially into the latter sector. Research has shown that women moving out of agriculture in developing countries do not necessarily move into the modern sector in urban areas (Boserup, 1970). Since industrial jobs are scarce and require skills and training, women frequently find themselves working within the informal sector. According to Ward, much of the post war expansion in the economy of developing nations can be attributed to the expansion of the service sector and women's increased work roles in this section where they take the largest share of jobs (1984).

In Africa prior to 1960 there was hardly any female labour force participation outside of agriculture. However, with the appearance of secondary industries and factory employment in the process of industrialization the way was paved for entry of women into the national labour force. The proportion of women in the industrial labour force in developing countries has risen from 21.0 per cent in 1960 to 26.5 per cent in 1980 (United Nations, 1985). In Zambia, for instance, although in-migration of women to the urban areas during the period of 1956 to 1961 exceeded that of men, their participation in the formal labour force was negligible. In 1956 they formed 2.1 percent of the total urban labour force and by 1961, 2.8 percent (Heisler, 1974). By the mid-60s the secondary industries were expanded and clerical positions and jobs suitable for unskilled workers (mainly women)

became increasingly available. In the 1969 census, men comprised 71.2 per cent and women 28.9 per cent of the total labour force, two thirds of which was working and one third seeking work (Republic of Zambia, 1970a, A19). While women constituted more than 50 percent of Zambia's population in 1980, they accounted for only 7.2% of the total number of those employed in the formal wage sector of the economy. This figure shows an improvement from 2 per cent in 1966 to 5.6 per cent in 1975 (Mumba, 1988). Hansen states that if these proportions are broken down by sex, the percentage of adult women who are unemployed but in search of work is seen to be more than double that of men.

Restrictions in the range of occupations available for either males or females are much more pronounced in developing countries. Women are still conspicuously absent from managerial and skilled jobs, while they are over-represented in tasks such as personal services and unskilled jobs. In the manufacturing industry and professional services, women are mostly involved in manual-labour-intensive operations, or in the areas of secretarial work, nursing and teaching primary school.

The great majority of women in Zambia lack the kind of prior work experience, training, and the skill required in an industrial economy. Many of them with only manual skills become displaced and are in turn absorbed in low-paid service jobs and in social services areas rather than in industry (Hansen, 1980). The distribution of wage workers in Lusaka (capital city of Zambia) by broad occupational groups, show that about 35 per cent of female workers are sales workers, 15 per cent service

workers, and some 13 per cent professional, technical and related workers (mainly in the teaching and nursing professions). They are virtually non-existent in high level technical occupations such as engineering, scientific and technological fields within the modern sector (Bardouille, 1980) (See Table Three).

Table Three: Economic Participation By Broad Occupational Groups and Sex, Lusaka Urban, Zambia, 1970

Occupations	% employed males	%employed females	%Total
Prof./techn, and related workers	5	13	6
Admin./ Manager & clerical workers	1	1	1
Service workers	9	18	10
Agr./forestry & related workers	16	13	15
Sales workers	17	36	18
Prod./manuf. & related workers	8	5	7
Packaging storage workers	12	2	12
Workers not elsewhere classified	32	12	31
Total	100	100	100

Source: Adapted from Table 4 in Karen Hansen, "When sex becomes a critical variable: Married women and work", *African Social Research*, 30 (1980). (Original source: GRZ, Population Census 1969, adapted from census tapes).

Evidence from many studies shows that the benefits that women derive from industrialization are less than those derived by men. A common finding on the participation of women in the labour force is that wages and other kinds of earning are often lower for women than men. This is partly a consequence of occupational distribution, with women being concentrated in low-grade occupations. At the macro level, there are no factors, apart from men's longer and more continuous time in employment, which can explain statistically why this differential exists. Women's absence for child bearing and child care reduces their total time in wage employment. They are often employed on a temporary basis as compared to permanent basis for men and so have fewer opportunities to acquire seniority.

In a meeting organized by UNIDO on the "Role of Women in Industrialization in Developing Countries" in 1978, it was noted that for the most part, women's participation in industrial production was confined to industries that, in spite of high capital requirements and sophisticated technologies, were highly labour-intensive. The common factors in these type of industries were low wages and poor working conditions.

Pike and Tzannatos have discovered that the differences in the employment characteristic between men and women- namely the over-representation of women in the low-pay and low status occupations, usually result in economic losses due to inefficiency in the use of available labour force. They assert that these losses are between 3 and 10 percent of the G.N.P. (1983).

Women's major involvement in the "informal sector" of the economy has often been omitted from statistical records because of the practical difficulties of collecting information about this sector. An overview of statistics in developing countries shows that female labour force participation rates (paid workers only) have been declining in all age groups. The long term projections made by the International Labour Organization (ILO) indicate that the decline in female participation in the labour force in developing countries is likely to continue through the rest of this century (ILO, 1975, pp. 4-8). According to Todaro, a major reason for this is that developing economies are not able to generate jobs at a rate faster than population growth. In addition, significant gender employment and sectoral disparities promote the decline in women's participation in the labour force (1981).

Another dimension of gender differentiation in the labour market is that women tend to be less educated than men. Psacharopoulos states that education is probably the most important single determinant of earnings, and accounts for well over half the extra earnings of educated workers (1975). According to World Bank (1984 a) there are significant differences by sex in the labour force regarding the levels of education achieved and vocational training received.

In the UNIDO meeting (1978), it was noted that among the basic social, political, economic, legal and psychological constraints to full participation of women in the industrialization process, a high illiteracy rate has been one of the major obstacles. Joekes asserts that education is a vital prerequisite for a fully productive

life in the modern world (1987). Education and training provide workers with knowledge and skills needed in the modern sector economy. The initial entry point in the formal labour market in the developing countries is closely linked with educational attainment, thus the private rate of return for all levels of education is high. With the advantage of education, men have a better opportunity to shift from the agricultural to a modern sector. Many women in Africa, who are in fact the heads of households, have no prospects of modern sector jobs because of lack of training. The lack of technical training and skills required in industry has hindered women's participation in national production. The education and sex specific labour force participation in Zambia alludes to the absence of women at the decision-making level. Lack of women's involvement at levels of policy-making and formulation of industrialization strategies has led to their subsequent omission in the execution of the projects.

The high rate of population growth and the expansion of educational systems in developing countries, has far surpassed the creation of employment opportunities. Thus, qualifications required for many types of employment have risen, leading to increasing competition in the job market. Modern technology reduces the number of jobs and requires higher levels of skill to fill the ones available. Employers use level of educational attainment not only for the required skills and training but also as a measure of stability and commitment to labour force activity.

Individual mobility and advancement are dependent on access to certain levels and kinds of qualification. The increments

in formal education, therefore, with a resultant enhancement of qualifications presumably widen the range of options. Keller argues that while education and training are a prerequisite for women's employability in the wage sector, this criterion seems to be more rigid for women than it is for men (1985). Education is one of the major mechanisms by which women's inequality can be reduced.

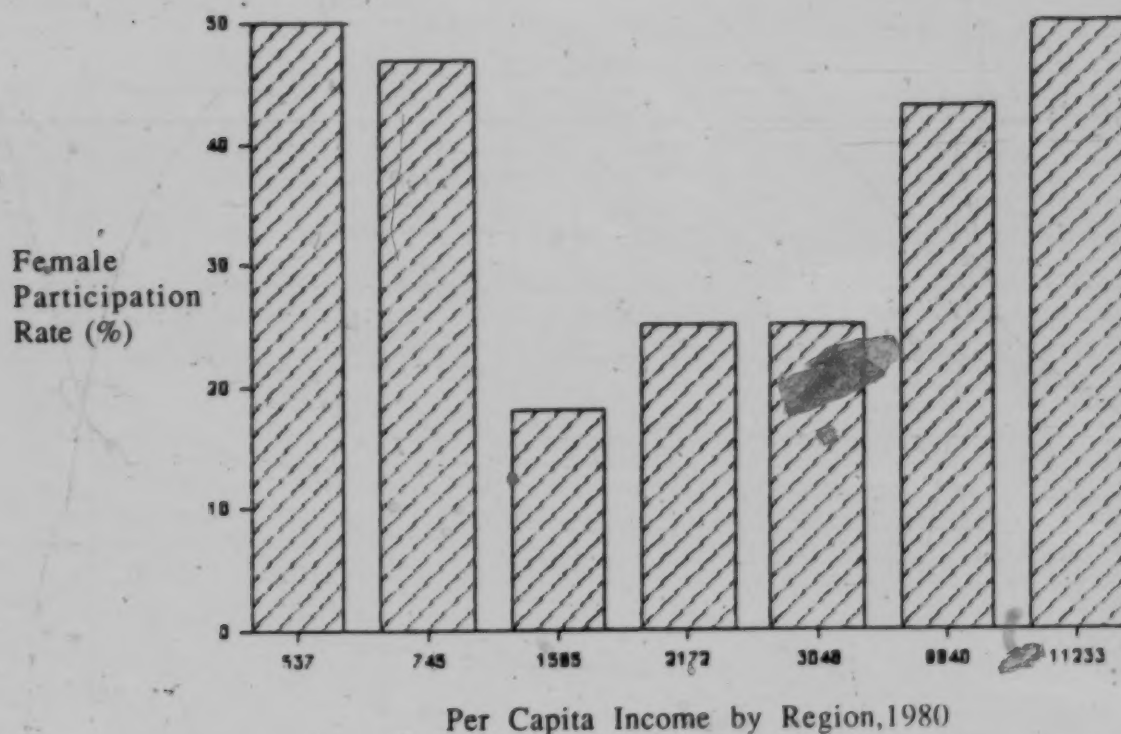
According to Smock, "the educational and occupational distribution of males and females in modern sector employment indicate that access to education is a more significant determinant of female than male participation" (1981:240). She asserts that education vests women with qualifications required for participation in a modern society, making it conducive to both their ability and willingness to participate in labour force. However, if women are faced with discrimination in the labour market, education may not have the same effects on increasing their market activities as it does for males. Discrimination may be a significant stumbling block, not only to women's participation in the market, but also to their general desire for education.

In the "sexual dualism" hypothesis, Standing suggests that a dualistic structure of the labour market, in which women and other minorities have access primarily to low-status secondary jobs, affects the result of schooling and causes gender differential results in education between two sexes. Inequalities in educational opportunity contribute to this dualism and sustain it. Women with lower education are consequently employed in secondary jobs and thus create an impression in the minds of

employers of women's lower commitment to and aptitude for work. Standing concludes that education is a facilitating though not necessarily a precipitating condition, for female labour force participation. Equal educational opportunities for both sexes, however, can break this cycle (1976). An example of this can be found in Zambia where Hansen has observed that "men and women of a certain time and age have become unequally prepared and differently exposed to active participation in major productive and institutional spheres in Zambia, . . . [because] this peculiarly structured economy does not accommodate all who want to work" (1980: 843).

Psacharapoulos and Tzannatos, in their analysis of female participation in the labour force in countries developing from subsistence to industrialized economies, depict a U-shaped pattern (see table 4). They argue that during early stages of industrialization countries experience a decline in the subsistence sector which is relatively faster than the expansion of the industrial sector. This initially results in reduction of female employment, since women are the prime employees of subsistence farming. This is also associated with an increase in urbanization which further restricts the opportunities for female work. Industrialization and developments are also associated with increase in educational enrolments which in itself delays women's entry to the labour market. Therefore it is a combination of various economic and statistical reasons that, during the early stages of development, pushes women out of the labour force.

Table Four: Mean Female Participation Rate by Region Per
Capita Income



Adapted from Source: "Female Labour Force Participation", Psacharopoulos and
Tzannatos, 1988 (Based on Sivard, 1985 Tables II and III)

Note: The regions, in ascending order of 1980 \$US per capita
income are:

Sub-Saharan Africa
Asia
Other Africa
Latin America
Middle East
West Europe
North America

As the industrial sector grows, employment opportunities for women increase. After a critical point of development, women using the stock of education acquired earlier, find it more tempting to participate in the labour force. Although a universal positive relationship between schooling and participation is not determined, with the growth of wage employment this relationship is generally positive. Economists have emphasized that education increases the probability of labour force participation, particularly of wage-labour participation, and thus increases labour supply (Standing, 1981). Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos conclude that to increase female participation in the labour force, the prime policy option should be women's education (1988).

For women, education can serve to dispel myths and alter public opinions about their traditional roles. Attitudes have to change in order to enable people to better perceive the role women can play in industrial and economic development and see, also, the economic and social benefits that accrue to households where women work. The full involvement of women in industrial development would lead not only to the effective utilization of all available human resources but also to the improvement in the quality of life of both sexes as a result of sharing of responsibilities and benefits.

Farming and Women's Labour Force Participation

In this section an attempt will be made to examine the role of women as farmers in African countries. Some authors have

referred to the farming in Africa as a "female farming" system (Boserup, 1970). Between sixty and eighty percent of the total agricultural work and 50 per cent of all husbandry are done by women and in some areas they produce as much as ninety percent of the food (Morgan, 1984). In 1980, eighty-seven percent of all members of the female labour force in low-income African countries were in the agriculture sector (Joeke, 1987).

On the African family farm, food production is the women's job, with the exception of male participation at the stage of land clearing. This has made possible the absence of male labour and the subsequent migration of men to the mines on a permanent basis. In many rural areas of Zambia, one third of the households are headed by females (Okeyo, 1985). In Lesotho, the 1976 census showed that between 40 and 60 percent of married women are left to manage the family on their own (Palmer, 1985). In families where the male head has migrated for a job, it is expected that the woman provides for day to day expenses. Food requirements are to be met from cultivation of the holding and from women's small cash income. Nonetheless, men retain autonomy and decision-making powers over the farming output and the allocation of resources, even while they are absent. The features of female headed households are their paucity of production and meagre financial resources.

The indicators used to determine the involvement of women in the "agricultural labour force" had to do with income generating activities and employment. Labour force participation in this sector uses a narrow definition of agricultural activity, based on

cultivation of land, work in the field and large-scale live stock keeping. The remaining parts of the agricultural cycle, such as seed preparation, storage, and preservation of the crop - which are mainly done by women - are often neglected in these data. Therefore, the contribution of women's labour to agriculture is often underestimated.

In Lesotho and Zambia, weeding and harvesting for larger farmers are usually the most common work done by women beyond their subsistence farming for additional income. As well, beer brewing is the most important single source of cash income under the control of women. Households receiving no immigrant remittances (from male workers in the mines) might obtain all their cash income from beer sales.

During development, and in the process of moving from agrarian-based to industrial-based economies, the structure of agriculture has been transformed. The effects of technological advances in production processes are complex. Generally, three levels or types of technological changes have been identified: improved tools, which promote the specialization of labour; mechanization, which displaces labour; and automation, which increases the degree of skills and attentiveness required of the work force (Schmitz, 1985).

Changes in agricultural technology are now concentrated on the mechanization of different farming tasks. As a result of the sexual division of labour, the process of agricultural mechanization is known to have generally displaced female labour more than male (Sen, 1985; Pala Okeyo, 1985). With the increasing emphasis

on cash crops, subsistence farming has suffered a major set-back. The national policies seem to place more emphasis on large scale farming and production at the neglect of peasant farmers, the majority of whom are women who represent a significant proportion of food producers in these countries.

When agricultural technology was introduced, it was men who had access to new techniques and credit even though it was women who were the primary producers (Boserup, 1970; Tinker, 1976; United Nations, 1980). Modernization has led to a decrease in the demand for women's labour by replacing them with modern technologies. Withdrawal from productive work seems to weaken the esteem of women, both within and outside the family, resulting in a reduction in their income and status. Even in cases where agricultural modernization has resulted in reduction of women's work load, the position of women relative to men has deteriorated.

In Lesotho, subsistence output, though still necessary for survival, is increasingly and necessarily being replaced by cash purchases. With the growing reliance on cash, the work of males is assuming more importance; leaving women more isolated in the countryside with no access to wage-earning activities. Women in Lesotho are in many ways the "keepers of village life", and are thus confined to resources that are available in rural areas (Mueller, 1977:165). It is obvious that, in order to improve the quality of life in rural areas, women need to be equipped with appropriate training and skills for improving their farming practices.

The literature on agriculture and rural development confirms the correlation between education and agricultural output. According to Smock, a recent review of the findings of studies in eighteen low-income countries reveals that the level of education influences agricultural productivity. For example, the completion of four years of schooling increases farm productivity 7.7 percent on the average (1981:215). In the study done by Moock (1973, 1976) of the effects of schooling on the production of maize in Kenya's Western Province, he concluded that "... whereas schooling of between one and three years had no effect on the output of male farmers, increases in output were associated with four years and more of schooling. Each year of schooling was found to result in a 1.7 percent increase in output per year. For female farmers there was a positive association between output and all levels of schooling"(cited in Hinchliffe, 1987:18). Some studies in this area have concentrated on the impact of schooling on the adoption of improved practices through modernization factors rather than directly on productivity (Heyer & Ascroft, 1970; Almy, 1974; Heijen, 1967). Vanzetti studied the productivity in maize production in Zambia. He found that, where the educational level was high, farmer productivity and individuals' education was associated. In the area with low educational levels it was not. He concluded that "the impact of education on output was seen to be via motivation rather than farming knowledge . . . that there is a need for a critical mass of schooled farmers in the community so as to provide mutual reinforcement for the adoption of new practices among them"

(cited in Hinchliffe, 1987:18). Education facilitates spread of information, and the acceptance and usage of new methods in farming. These studies supported Vanzetti's argument that the educational level of the community is an important factor in stimulating innovation.

An aspect of the impact of education on women in rural areas is its effect on expanding their horizons, and the range of options for cash generating activities. Bwalya contends that genuine and effective participation of more peasant farmers in decision-making at the rural level depends on adequate supply and dissemination of information and their understanding of the issues at stake and their rights. He further asserts that this is related to literacy. Illiteracy prevents people from taking advantage of opportunities available to them to raise their income. Their progress is limited because they cannot effectively make use of pamphlets, seminars, and other materials (1981).

With modernization, the factors of land and capital become more important. Control and ownership of property is essential for investing in agricultural development. In Africa, the colonial land policies and later development projects have often allocated land ownership to men. Women's property rights are minimal, and in many societies, there are severe limitations on the ability of women to secure land, capital and credit. Therefore, their access to new technologies, fertilizer and extension services are limited. Inheritance rights are also usually restricted for women.

Showers, in her studies among women in Lesotho, confirmed that women's lack of capital and access to credit make it difficult

or impossible for them to make any major decisions (1980). Although day to day decisions have to be made by women, men retain the final authority in major decision-making concerning farming and livestock. Five years later, Palmer still believes that, in spite of the upheavals caused by the migration in rural areas, cultural demarcation of the sexes' roles and land inheritance, as well as patrilocal marriage, have remained intact (1985). She believes, however, that when women give up some of their own subsistence farming to obtain cash income they exercise further independence in decision-making.

Under present circumstances, paid work and receipt of money earnings lead to an improvement in the status of women both within the family, by increasing their decision-making power, and in society in general, by improving the treatment they receive (Sen, 1985). It has been realized that as long as women remained confined to, and identified with, household work, or subsistence activities only, their economic contribution to development will remain underestimated and their rights undermined. The first step towards economic emancipation for women is for them to be able to earn and control their income: "Monetary income is the indispensable means to economic power in monetized societies, and it enhances women's family and bargaining power and hence status. It is a necessary if not sufficient condition for women's emancipation" (Joekes, 1987:10).

Many women are not aware of their legal rights and privileges. They are resigned to a situation of helplessness. Cultural constraints also perpetuate the sex segregation of

occupations and result in structural inequalities with respect to the access women have to education, employment and facilities such as credit and material inputs for farming. They need to be motivated to find their way up the educational and social hierarchy.

As was discussed in chapter two, Woodhall believes that education affects workers' productivity through its influence on attitudes, just as much as through imparting knowledge and skills (1981). Educated women will have a different approach to inequalities and their response will be less passive and resigned. Blaug further states that education not only contributes economically, but also helps in the formation of initiative, self-reliance and other personal attitudes necessary for income generating activities and employment (1981). Education can equip women to reach levels of policy making and alter legislation which has worked against equality and women. Access to formal education has proved to be a necessary pre-condition for women's economic independence, which is in turn a necessary precondition of women's independence of mind.

Women in Trade

Trade is the oldest form of economic co-operation among nations, and it is an area in which the principle of collective self-reliance, which has been a basic strategy of development, can be realized. One of the major potential sources of income and economic productivity in many developing countries is self-employment and independent entrepreneurship, an area in which

a majority of women are involved. In developing countries, women's subsistence activities often include those related to the market as well. Women sell food surpluses in the market and thus generate cash income which in turn gives them some relative autonomy in economic terms.

Keller notes that, by economic necessity, many poor women in Zambia, at some stage or other of their marriage, attempt to reduce their vulnerable economic relationship to men by engaging in some kind of a trade. However, facing many obstacles, most of them give up business (1978). Statistics show that women, at any given time, regardless of their social class position (determined by husband's status), are more numerous than men in petty trading activities.

In Zambia and Lesotho, retail selling activities by women include: front-yard stalls; selling from the home; selling at fixed-locations in the market, or street vending; and selling fruits, foods, and cigarettes on the roadside. As was mentioned earlier, beer brewing is another major way in which women secure income. In a research survey conducted in Lusaka township, Bardouille concludes that there is clear division of labour even in the trading sector. Men are involved in electrical and mechanical repairs, tin-smithing, carpentry and related trades, selling groceries, and tailoring, while women are concentrated in petty retailing and cigarette retailing (1981).

In spite of their subordinate roles in industry, women have contributed substantially to the development of small and medium industries. In order to promote women's participation

and activities in the field of marketing and the trades, which are major facets of a national economy, women entrepreneurs should not only be literate, but they also need basic instruction in management, marketing and financing skills. According to Calkins there is little doubt that the development of skills for self-employment, whether management of a small farm or producing marketable goods, is one of the essential prerequisites for rural development in many areas (1975).

Hence the importance of nonformal education in rural development particularly for women, is increasingly evident. Women entrepreneurs need relevant and appropriate training to consolidate and expand their petty trading activities. This is not currently offered by the formal educational system in these countries. The present curriculum of schools facilitates and promotes the move from the agriculture to the non-agriculture sector, because it is usually associated with higher incomes and the prestige derived from wage employment. On the other hand, it creates disdain for manual work, thus traditional agriculture and petty trading are no longer perceived as being suitable for the educated.

Women, Education and Work:

In the previous sections of this chapter, the impact of education as it relates directly to industry, farming and trades was discussed. In this section we will look at the impact of education as it relates to the integration of women, as workers, into the life of society in general. An attempt will be made to tie

together and generalize some of the points made in the previous sections concerning the patterns of women's work in society.

According to the previous arguments, it has been confirmed that education provides credentials for access to occupations. The stratification in the modern sector of economy in developing countries flows from educational attainment. Therefore, there is a strong link between educational attainment and social and occupational placement.

Women's education and work are frequently considered together because they are complementary roles. Barriers to occupational attainment are found within educational institutions and discouragement from educational goals is often based upon assessment of occupational barriers (Lipman-Blumen & Tichamyer, 1975).

According to Gaskel, the gender division of labour has its roots in educational (early and higher) and socialization experiences. "The segregated positions women and men occupy in education extend into the labour market where they pursue different jobs" (1985:184). The socialization process that takes place in the home is reinforced within the school system. As McGrath notes, the aggregate growth in female education has not resulted in a balance between women's degrees and actual job opportunities (1976). Women are encouraged to take "female" subjects in schools rather than subjects in science or other male-dominated fields, which lead to occupations generated in the development process (Dixon, 1975).

Although women are increasingly entering the labour market, the categories in which they are concentrated entail few opportunities for upward mobility. As a result, although women's levels of education have increased, the pattern of sex-typed jobs has not been altered by it. They continue to be concentrated in fields oriented toward domestic roles rather than skills needed in a monetized economy or for increasing agricultural productivity (Boserup, 1970; McGrath, 1976; Tinker, 1976). The fact that girls are often in the so called women's occupation fields further narrows the available employment options in the modern sector and limits their earning potentials.

In most cases, cultures support this unequal division of work between men and women. Social factors place a stigma against women working outside of the home. Thus the "cost" and "benefits" attached to work are affected by social elements. They raise the "cost" of some kind of work and make other kinds of work unacceptable. Female participation in educational opportunities, and the behaviour of women in the economy, appear to be much more dependent upon the social environment than is the case for men.

Further to this, there are gender differences in the outcome of education. Whilst men are expected to take up employment after completion of education or training, women's decisions to enter the labour force are influenced by a number of social, moral, economical, and practical considerations. In other words their non-participation is socially acceptable.

As well, women's late entry into the educational arena and family responsibilities tend to put them at a disadvantage.

Modern sector jobs requiring education pose a conflict between women's roles within the family and outside employment. Women are caught in a vicious circle. On one hand, they are late starters in the race for education, and on the other, when access to education is granted, the opportunity cost of fully utilizing the benefits of education rises (Shields, 1987:121).

Prevailing conceptions about the proper role of women in society and the attitude of society towards appropriateness of particular types of work for women shape their decisions and participation in labour force. Cultural traditions have always limited the public role of women. According to McGrath:

Equal education for women is hampered by a whole set of mutually dependent ideas and traditions that define and limit the female role. In Developing Countries, the acute shortage of educational facilities, in combination with a belief that boys should be educated first, effectively excludes many girls (1976:37).

The availability and nature of educational facilities are often significant in women's participation. Although since 1976 the educational facilities and their availabilities have improved, the precedence given to the education of boys over that of girls continues to prevail. The same factors serve to keep women out of graduate and higher education and, consequently, out of high status positions. Little education for women displaces them from traditional agricultural activities or petty trading without

equipping them with the requirements to compete with males in the modern sector (Smock, 1981). Higher levels of educational attainment facilitates women's recruitment into the high level occupations and improves their presentation in the traditionally male-dominated fields of professional and technical occupations.

In some societies, marriage is seen as an alternative to labour force participation. Evidence shows that married women are less likely to participate in the labour force than single and divorced women. This is so even when the effects of age, education, fertility and mobility status are controlled.

In a study conducted among women in Lesotho, Mueller notes that daughter's education receives more approval, especially from mothers. The explanation for such a response was that not only children act as social security for the parents in later years, but that education gave girls some compensation for erratic financial support from their future husbands, or even an alternative to marriage. The majority of the women in her study preferred to see their daughters work than marry (1977).

In the case of married women, because of the dependencies that exist both economically and socially, the socio-economic status of husbands has a great influence on a woman's decision to enter the labour force. Women who have to earn a living in order to feed their children and the family are doubly vulnerable and their dependency increases. The subordination of women at home is reinforced at the economic level. They remain dependant on their husbands in private life as well as in the socio-economic

facet of life. In order to break the cycle of dependency, women need to gain more education.

Education works in two different ways: on the one hand it influences the world view and public opinion about women's role and work in the national economy of the country. On the other, it equips women with the skills and training necessary for a full and effective participation in economic development and thus alters the traditional gender-specific occupational and educational patterns. In a dynamic economy that is in great need of skilled labour, educated women are able to break down the social barriers and attitudes that inhibit their full participation in economic activities outside the home. As Bwalya asserts, economic development can only be initiated as part of a comprehensive socio-cultural change. It is with respect to this "that the necessary process of change in the social structure and the system of values of a social system, conducive to rational economic behaviour and attitudes, constitutes variables in the explanation of the process of economic development" (1981:55).

It is commonly known that education confers status on the recipient and is the cause of socio-economic mobility. Standing states that education strongly influences income aspirations and expectations (1976). According to "Human capital" theory, people obtain education in anticipation of benefits expected from them in the form of higher market earnings or direct consumption gains. Education may raise women's occupational aspirations and change their attitudes toward sex roles.

Data suggests that educational attainments for women correlate both with their *ability* and *inclination* to enter labour force and non agriculture employment and the rate of labour force participation climbs with increment in their educational attainments. Raising the market earning power in women may provide a stronger inducement to seek employment. The effects of education as an *inducement* to labour force participation are different for men and women and generally its effects are stronger on women. The reason for this is that men are likely to be in the labour force regardless of their education. For women educational attainment influences the probability of participation as well as employment opportunities (Standing, 1980).

Two factors affect women's motivation for work: economic reasons and social reasons. Amongst women who work for economic reasons family size may be a contributing factor. A large number of children may well force women to take up jobs in order to raise the necessary income to feed the family. Although it seems that family size should be negatively related to female labour force participation, this is not always the case. In low-income countries the cost of child care is low and there are always members of the family or the extended family available for child care. It is important to note also the finding that the negative relationship between education and fertility in developing countries is lowered if educated women are unable to secure occupations and work commensurate with their education (Dixon, 1975). The other group of women who work for social reasons, comprises those who desire to develop a career that gives

them fulfilment. Women with higher levels of educational attainment usually work for social reasons and self fulfilment as well as for income.

Although education induces women to seek employment through increasing their earning potential, and thereby raising the cost of non-work, whether or not this desire to seek employment is realized in actual fact depends upon the prevailing economic conditions. Women's entrance into the educational system and labour force in a period of educational expansion reduces the rate of return on women's education because of the supply and demand factor in the labour market.

Employer's decisions and policies concerning the employment of women have great impact on the prospects of women's participation. Some legislation and welfare arrangements relating to maternity leave, etc., may lead to certain employer's reluctance to employ women. Thus, the correlation between education and employability ultimately depends on prevailing economic conditions and the employers' attitudes.

According to Durand, the occupational composition of the female labour force is directly related to economic trends and the stage of economic development in a country (1975). Ram confirms the differences in educational outcome for men and women by stating that the positive relation between education and labour force participation for women may indicate correlation but not necessarily causation. This is due to operation of different variables that affect both education and labour market, aspirations and opportunities (1982).

Research has shown that, because of structural social barriers, higher levels of education may provide women with better employment options relative to uneducated women but not necessarily relative to men. Boesveld believes that the spreading of education to larger population groups and reforms that make education more accessible to women create better employment opportunities to integrate women in the job market so long as they are placed in lower occupational categories. If the number of educated women in relation to men increases in a country, a shift will occur in the occupational structure. This is occurring in Africa where simple office jobs once held by men are now more frequently filled by women. The men then move up the occupational ladder and hold better-paid jobs (1981).

Beside the effect on participation in the labour force, several studies have shown that investment in women's education may be more profitable than that for men (Psacharopoulos, 1985). Aaron Benavot analysed the data from cross-national research on 96 developing countries from 1960 to 1985 and found clear evidence that in less developed countries educational expansion among school age girls at the primary level had a stronger effect on long-term economic prosperity, in terms of G.N.P, than did educational expansion among boys. This effect, he believes, was not mediated by women's rate of participation in the wage labour force or by reducing fertility rates. Rather, the ideology of formal education - with its emphasis on citizenship, middle-class values, and national progress- constructed new rights and duties for women as potentially productive citizens in the national economy. These

effects, which he calls institutional changes, would create new categories of economic value, integrating formerly marginal groups into the economic and political mainstream of society. The provision of mass education for girls expands the citizenship rights of women by redefining women as potentially productive wage earners in the national economy (1989). On a global level, there are signs that the invisible work of women is slowly being incorporated into national and international accounts of economic value (Joeckes, 1987).

Summary

In Africa, despite the traditional role of women in agriculture, the western agricultural techniques generated gender stereotypes and were taught exclusively to men. Nineteenth century colonialism brought Christian missionary education which did not benefit as many girls as it did boys. In the post-colonial period, higher positions previously filled by colonizers became available to men who moved up the educational ladder.

The growth of industrialization and urbanization, with wage employment opportunities, increases the role of schooling in the labour market. Modernization in agriculture, technology and industry has not necessarily benefited women. Rather it has resulted in their displacement from the labour force and accentuated the gender-role stereotypes. The lack of corresponding cultural, social and legal adjustments have deprived women of the benefits in the process of development.

Women's participation rate in economic development in the Third World countries has been underestimated and under enumerated. The recognition of the true economic role of women in society is a major step towards the emancipation of women. On the one hand governments need to recognize women's unpaid labour as a contribution to the family income and consequently to the nation's social and economic development. On the other hand, women should have the opportunity and ability to earn an income through training in skills and appropriate education. Education is needed for women to help them identify personal talents and objectives, perceive alternative rewards, new forms of work habits, continuity and regularity in labour force participation, commitment, assertiveness and awareness of rights and options, and concerns for personal growth and career development. Aspirations for economic and social improvement should be inculcated in both women and men. Education can change attitudes and the social and cultural environment.

Formal education and training are among the major elements contributing to the integration of women in the labour market and their participation in the modern sector, and this has been supported by a number of studies. However, there are questions as to the absolute positive correlation between the education of women and their participation in the labour force. The evidence shows that the country's stage of economic development, as well as social attitudes towards employment of women, are the other contributing variables in shaping women's behaviour in the national economy.

CHAPTER SIX

The Educational Setting for Women *The Cases of Zambia and Lesotho*

With the increasing awareness of the need to utilize all human resources in the LDCs (Less Developed Countries) and the potential role of education in facilitating social mobility of the disadvantaged groups, especially during the 70s, a shift was made towards democratization of education. In 1970 in Africa 82 percent of women and 58 percent of men were illiterate. In ten years these rates were reduced to 73 percent and 48 percent respectively (Taylor, 1985). In the light of arguments presented in previous chapters, education of women and their advancement is a major component of national development. In spite of vast expansions in educational institutions the statistics on the educational attainment of women in Africa indicate areas of concern. In this chapter the actual situation of the educational setting and opportunities for women in Zambia and Lesotho will be reviewed and some of the obstacles in their full participation in educational institutions will be examined. Lesotho is a country in Southern Africa with a population of 1,621,932 (1987) and a GNP of \$530 per capita (1985). Zambia is in South-Central Africa has a population of 6,730,000 (1985), and a GNP of \$609 per capita (1980) (UNESCO Statistical Year Book,1989).

Women in the Educational Institutions

In the past two decades the rate of women's participation in educational institutions has been increased. However, their proportion in particular at the tertiary and higher levels of education, as well as in vocational streams, lag behind male participation. Although the pattern varies across these countries, two significant determinants of female participation in education can be identified. One, the availability and efficiency of schools, and two, the willingness to utilize the facilities.

Availability and Efficiency of Educational Facilities:

Most of the population including the majority of women in Africa live in rural areas. In Lesotho, for instance, 95 percent of the female population live in rural districts (Sivard, 1985). It is in these areas that the shortcomings of the educational facilities in terms of quality and quantity are most evident.

In 1980 almost half of the existing primary schools (mainly in rural areas) in Lesotho were not sufficiently equipped to offer full schooling for seven years of primary education (Education Survey Sector, 1983). The secondary schools available in these areas, number far less than the primary schools and one school may be serving a large area which means that students have to walk long distances on foot to go to school.

In 1980, schools in Lesotho had in each classroom, an average of seventy seven pupils. (Educational Sector Survey, 1983). The education system in general suffers further from inadequate staffing, few instructional materials and an overly

academic curriculum. These problems are more pronounced at the rural level where a majority of teachers of primary and early secondary schools (mainly female teachers) tend to be unqualified.

Similar problems seem to exist in the rural areas of Zambia. According to the Annual Report of the Ministry of Education in 1979, the rural schools - especially the secondary schools - were critically short of teachers. Shortage of stationary, equipment and facilities are much more evident at the rural level. The pupil to class room ratio in the rural areas far exceeds the average of 40 pupils for the country as a whole (1979). Because of the poor conditions at the beginning of these levels, most students do not acquire skills needed for higher learning.

Willingness to Utilize the Facilities

Although, with the expansion of educational facilities in the developing countries, participation of women in education has relatively increased, it has also been observed that expansion and availability of such facilities do not in themselves ensure women's full participation and equal involvement. Historically, women's responses to schooling, either of attendance or success in the process have been an expression of cultural and traditional values. This includes lack of economic or other immediate and tangible benefits expected from such training. Thus, parents' decisions concerning education of daughters depends to a large degree on the expected social and moral as well as economic outcomes of daughters' education. As was discussed before, increased exposure

to formal education in the developing countries has accorded women greater control over their own lives. This, coupled with many parents' fear that attending school leads to moral corruption of adolescent girls, has affected girl's participation in schools particularly at the higher levels. The education profession itself is suspected of being unduly influenced by foreign values and of transmitting those values to its students.

In Lesotho, schools, particularly those at secondary and tertiary levels, are thought to be "undermining Basotho [belonging to Lesotho] values and culture without putting worthwhile alternatives in their places" (Education Survey, 1982:14). In Zambia, particular problems are observed in relation to admission at schools. Due to the high rate of urbanization, the rate of rejection compared with admission in first year of primary education is higher in urban areas than rural areas. However, the passage from elementary level to early secondary education is a serious problem which is predominant in rural areas. Fagerlind and Valdelin, in their studies of education in Zambia assert that the cause for this problem, unlike the grade one bottle neck, does not seem to be a lack or shortage of facilities, rather, other social or administrative difficulties result in low utilization of the existing facilities (1983).

Additionally, whether schooling is offered free or partially free, it entails costs for parents. In Lesotho, education is a heavy expense for most families in the country, with parents having to pay a large share of the total costs (Education Survey Sector, 1983). In Zambia despite its free education policy, costs are

incurred also by parents in the form of providing uniforms, shoes, stationery, and part of the fees. Many parents living and working in rural areas find it all too difficult to afford.

In Zambia and Lesotho, girls - particularly in their teens - contribute, to a large degree, to the economy of the household in terms of activities, time, and labour. These include child care, household tasks, working in the fields, fetching, carrying, and home processing of products for sale. Private costs of education thus include indirect costs of earning foregone. If girls are more productive at home, then education is more costly for girls than for boys. The barriers for full participation of girls in schools could be an index of their useful contribution to household economy.

Private benefits of education are, on the other hand, measured in terms of additional life time earnings and social benefits of the educated. Under circumstances where the educational attainment of women does not necessarily lead to employment and equal salary, the foreseen benefits of an educated girl do not offset the costs involved. This particular issue, and the linkage between certification and employment, will be further discussed under "outcomes".

In the final analysis, three components need to be examined in order to better understand the issue of women's access to education: enrollment, retention, and outcomes.

Enrollments, Retention, and Outcomes of Education

Over the past 25 years total enrollments in education in Sub-Saharan African countries have increased substantially. The

majority of these countries gained independence between 1957 and 1964. Since independence, emphasis has been placed on the rapid expansion of educational systems to ensure the growth of qualified labour needed for national development. A major portion of the governments' expenditures has thus been geared towards the expansion of educational institutions and efforts have been made to keep the growth rates of enrollments well above population growth rates.

Between 1960 and 1970 the annual average enrollment rates grew at 5.4, 11.4 and 11.7 percent for primary, secondary, and higher education, respectively. Between 1970 and 1980 these rates were 7.3, 13.4 and 11.5 percent. Generally, in higher education, for example in Sub-Saharan countries, enrollments have increased by over 11 percent a year since 1960 (Hinchliffe, 1987).

As far as women are concerned, statistics from UNESCO showed that, in Sub-Saharan African countries, they constituted 41, 34, and 25 percent of enrollments at the primary, secondary, and tertiary levels respectively (1973). In Lesotho and Zambia the gender disparities in educational attainment are structured differently. These two countries show opposite patterns of enrollment rates for women at the primary and secondary levels. However the patterns become more similar as we go up the ladder of educational attainment, particularly when we consider the tertiary and higher levels of education and employment competencies that occur as a result of schooling for women. For the purposes of analyzing the enrollment rates for women it is

important to consider the particular conditions that characterize these societies.

Enrollments in Zambia

The Republic of Zambia became independent in 1964. Since then, as a result of high priority being given to the development of local skills, a large number of educational institutions, including a University, has been established. The structure of the educational system in Zambia has remained fairly simple: Primary education consists of seven grades with an entry age of 7 years. The Secondary level consists of five years; three years of Junior Secondary and two years of Senior Secondary education.

Despite the fact that the female population is larger than the male, their enrollments in educational institutions are outnumbered by males. The pattern of women's participation in education has been more or less similar to that presented earlier for Sub-Saharan Countries. Table Five and Six show the enrollments at the primary and secondary schools by sex and grades.

Table Five: Primary School Enrollment by Gender and Grades in Zambia, 1980

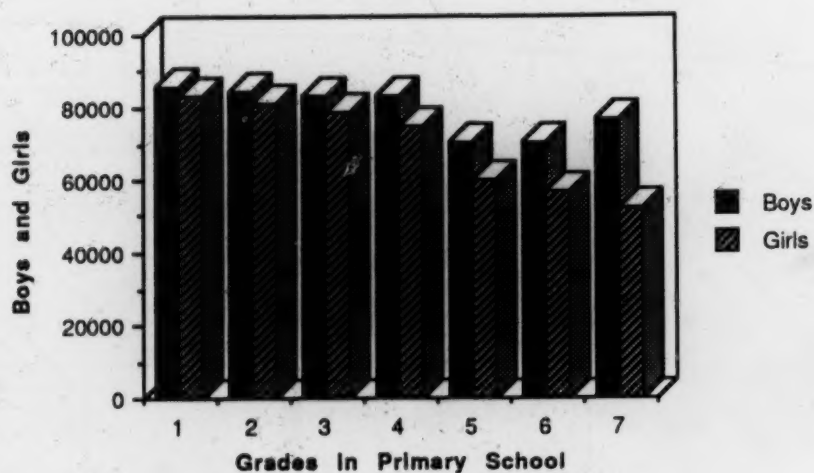
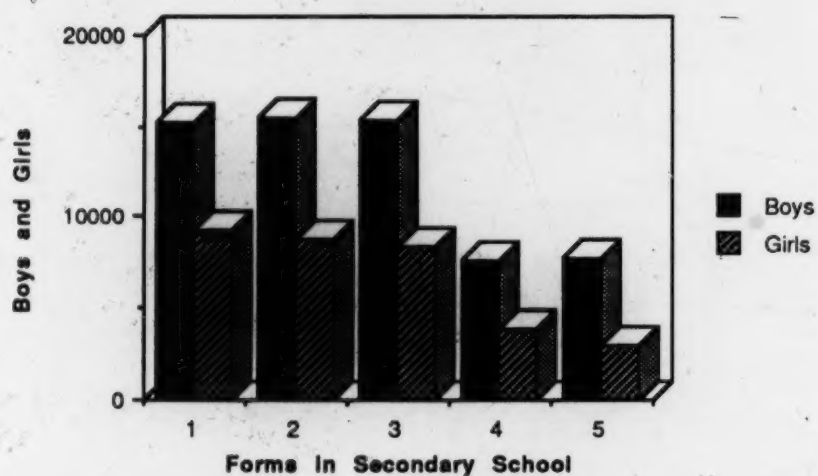


Table Six: Secondary School Enrollments by Gender and Grades in Zambia, 1980



Source: Constructed from data in "Educational Statistics 1980", Ministry of Education and Culture, Planning Unit, 1982

From these tables it is clear that the proportion of girls enrolled in primary and secondary schools at all levels is less than that of boys. Overall primary level enrollments as a proportion of the nominal primary school age group (7-14) for the whole country is 88.3 percent for boys and 79.0 percent for girls (Education Statistics 1980). At the secondary level girls constitute only about 35 percent of the secondary school population.

Up to the age of 10 and 11, the participation of female students nearly equals that of the male students, but at the higher age groups the number of girls relative to boys decreases. The number of boys over 14 who are attending any form of schooling is twice as many as those of girls. Furthermore, according to Fluitman, either as a result of repetition or because of late starters statistics in Zambia show that a great number of primary school pupils have passed the age of 13 (1975).

It is interesting to note that the statistics on the rate of enrollments of girls in private schools in Zambia show a different pattern, in that the number of girls enrolled is higher than boys. This indicates that the socio-economic background of parents is a determining factor in participation of girls in all levels of education. The parents from higher social status who are able to pay tuition for private schools seem to be willing to provide an opportunity for their daughters to get an education.

Studies in most African countries indicate that a disproportionate number of educated women are from elite backgrounds (Clignet and Foster, 1966:76-77). Scudder and Colson in their studies among a particular tribe in Zambia found

that it is primarily because of their elite background that girls entered school at a younger age on average than did boys and are more successful in continuing through senior secondary school without a break (1980). It is useful, however, to note that in 1980 only 18 private schools existed in comparison to 2783 government schools in the country (Educational Statistics, 1980).

As was mentioned, most primary education is terminal and relatively low cost thus facilitating higher enrollment rates compared to secondary schools. To further understand the full impact of education on those receiving it, it is important to examine retention rates.

Retention in Educational Institutions in Zambia

A negative feature of access to educational opportunities in many developing countries is the low rate of retention. The major loss occurs in the first three to four years of school, before a child has the chance to obtain any long-lasting benefit from school. Research indicates that four years of elementary school is not enough for pupils to retain literacy. This is why the term "wastage" is used. The rate of wastage refers to students who leave school once and for all before completing a particular course of education, as well as to repeaters.

The rate of retention for girls in Zambia tends to be lower than that of boys. According to the report of the Ministry of Education in 1979, although there were almost equal numbers of boys and girls in Grade one, more girls than boys left school

before completing their course. By the time they reach Grade 7, there are six boys in school for every four girls.

In 1975, in Zambia, over 25 percent of grade four graduates failed to find places in Grade five (Fluitman, 1975). Here again the disparities work against those in rural areas. In some rural districts in Zambia, four out of ten pupils have to leave school at Grade four because there are not sufficient Grade five places. All of those who have to leave school at this level are in rural areas, whereas most of children enrolled in urban schools are able to complete seven years of schooling (Annual Report for the Year 1979, Zambia), with a higher rate of boys continuing than girls (Fagerlind & Valdelin, 1983).

The chances for a child in general, and for girls in particular, to continue school become very narrow after Grade 7 (passage from primary to secondary). Facilities for other post-primary training do not exist, thus the only possibility to enjoy further formal education beyond the primary level is to enter secondary school; however, in the 1970s, continued education beyond primary school was possible for only about 18.5 per cent of those leaving all grade 7 (Fagerlind & Valdelin, 1983). This is partly because the Grade 7 enrollment has been increasing much faster than the number of new places in Junior secondary Schools in the country as a whole. Again, there are about six boys enrolled in Junior Secondary Schools for every four girls.

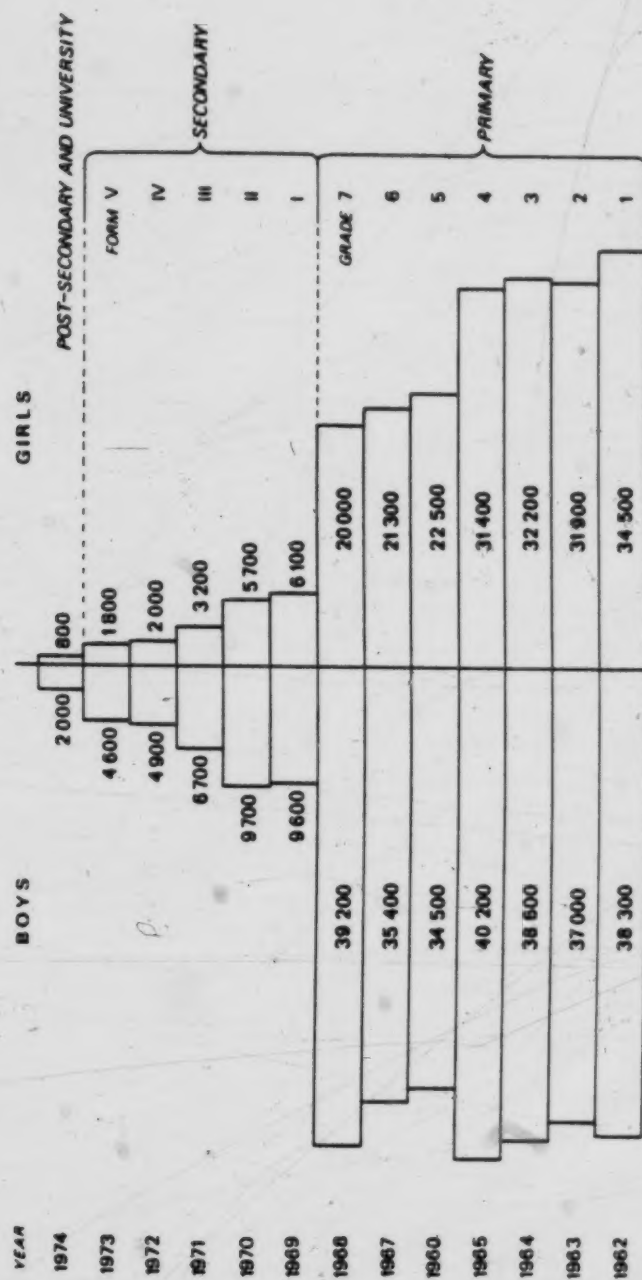
As the levels advance, greater numbers of pupils are eliminated. As a matter of policy, only 50 percent of those completing the Junior Secondary Schools can proceed to Senior

Secondary level (Fluitman, 1975) the remainder have to leave the school. Table Seven shows the progression rate of pupils by gender in Zambia.

Causes of high wastage and drop-outs at the primary and secondary level have been varied: generally financial pressures, lack of good quality elementary training, and lack of space at the rural schools all affect this rate. For girls, however, the condition is more serious. Under the prevailing circumstances of shortage of places at schools, and lack of finances if a choice has to be made between educating daughters or sons, it seems that priority is often given to education of boys. This is due to the public opinion on gender specific roles and a general trust that a boy will be able to find employment as a result of education and thus support the parents. On the other hand, early marriages and pregnancies compound the issue. Rate of expulsion among girls because of pregnancy average at least 5 percent in Zambian Secondary schools (Scudder and Colson, 1980).

Scudder and Colson in their studies among members of the Tonga tribe in Zambia in Gwembe District found out that the average age of girls who left secondary school was less than that of the boys. On the other hand, among those who proceeded to senior secondary level, the proportion that finished high school was higher despite hostility from male students towards females who did well in school and also despite expulsion rates among women because of pregnancy (1980). Sanyal, et al in their studies in Zambia also confirmed that although girls definitely have a low

Table Seven: Progression Rate of Pupils by Gender in Zambia



1962 entry into first grade of primary followed through to university and other post secondary entrance in 1974

Adapted from Source: Sanyal, B. C. (et al) 1976, "Higher Education and the Labour Market in Zambia

participation rate in Senior High Schools, they do not have a lower examination success rate in comparison with boys (1976).

In recent years, Zambia's Government has set a certain quota, at the High School levels, for the number of girls that are accepted irrespective of their results in tests. Although this has been an improvement in the system, it hardly affects the barriers already mentioned in the participation of girls at the lower levels of education. Thus, the quota would only affect those girls who have been able to successfully complete primary school and who have willing parents in favor of their education.

At the tertiary level of education, gender selectivity into schools tends to further conspire against girls. In 1976, the proportion of female students at the University was only approximately 17 percent of the total university population (Sanyal et al, 1976). According to Keller in 1985, female students constituted about 20 percent of the total student body and the majority of them (about 75%) specialised in education, social sciences and arts subjects. Table Eight shows the enrollments at university by sex and fields of study.

Table Eight: Female Population and Total Student Population in the University of Zambia for 1971 and 1973

Major field of study	1971			1973		
	No. of students	Female	%	No. of students	Female	%
Natural sciences	518	69	13.3	705	84	11.9
Humanities and Social sciences	664	156	23.5	893	214	24.0
Engineering	94	1	1.1	197 ¹	0	0
Agriculture	25	1	4.0	53	3	5.7
Medicine	84	7	8.3	117	27	23.1
Law	59	6	10.2	103	13	12.6
Others	123	36	29.2	90	20	22.2
TOTAL FULL-TIME	1 567	276	17.6	2 158	361	16.7
PART-TIME	440	52	11.8	82	16	19.5

Source: Ministry of Education, Annual Report, 1971, and complete list of students as at September 1973, UNZA

The low representation of women at higher levels of education is the result of a number of factors. These include the low rate of enrollments and the high rate of female school-leavers at the primary level due to the factors already discussed, as well as entering into early marriages for girls, the prevalence of sex-differentiated educational specialization and sex biases reflected in the curriculum.

The enrollments at teacher training institutes, especially at the secondary level teaching, portray a typical male-dominated pattern. Although women form a large number of teachers in Zambia, they continue to be unqualified. Further, gender

differences are highly pronounced when we look at the number of female teaching staff at the higher learning institutes in Zambia where women are minimally represented in relation to men (Educational Stats, 1983).

An additional factor contributing to the low number of women at higher learning institutes is that higher education in Zambia is a costly process. According to the studies done by Sanyal, et al, on the sources of finances for higher education, there are sex differences in the means of finance (1976). Government bursaries appear to be fairly available to both male and female students in higher education. However non-government bursaries are much more heavily weighted towards males. The authors speculate that the non-government organizations are probably wary of long-term investment in females, who may marry upon completion of their training. "Family" and in particular "own effort" sources of finance are weighted in favour of females (See Table Nine).

Table Nine: Source of Finance for Further Studies in Zambia, 1976

Major Source of Finance	Males	Females
Government Bursary	1328	529
Non-Government Bursary	776	83
Family	113	76
Own Effort	145	135
Total	2450	908

Source: Adapted from table in Sanyal, B. C. (et al) 1976: "Higher education and the labour market in Zambia"

The enrollments in remedial adult education programs offered to upgrade the education of adults in Zambia, portray the same patterns. Men outnumber women although it is the women who in the first place, are less advantaged and more in need of remedial instructions (Educational Stats, 1980). Thus, one more door leading to formal institutions of learning - one which could help correct the aforementioned obstacles facing women - opens more easily to men than women.

In the extension services and non-formal education programs offered at the rural areas the pattern is not any different. The country has an agricultural-based economy and most women are involved in farming. However, according to several evaluation surveys conducted by SIDA (Sweden International Development Agency) to determine the impact of

non-formal education on women at the rural level, very few female officers are employed in the departments that offer such programs. Mumba believes that the male dominated pattern of staffing has adverse effects on participation of women in these programs. Even where program activities are designed specifically for women they seldom reach the target population (1988). This has been documented in the 1981 and 1982 annual reports of the Integrated Rural Development Programmes. Mumba argues that since the majority of extension staff are male, women may be prevented from attending by their husbands because instructors are men. On the other hand, the male instructors are not always aware of the needs of female participants for supervision.

Enrollments in Lesotho

Lesotho was a British Colony from 1868 to 1966 when it regained its independence. After independence, the government began making efforts to meet the requirements of development and to satisfy the aspirations of its people by expanding the educational system in the country.

Schools in Lesotho are organized into three distinctive levels: The first level (primary) is designated for the age group of 6 to 12 years and comprised of 6 standards. Primary education in Lesotho is partly free, but not compulsory. Education at the second level is subdivided into lower (3 years) and upper stages (2 Years). The tertiary level comprises courses at the University and other training colleges. The school system was originally developed by

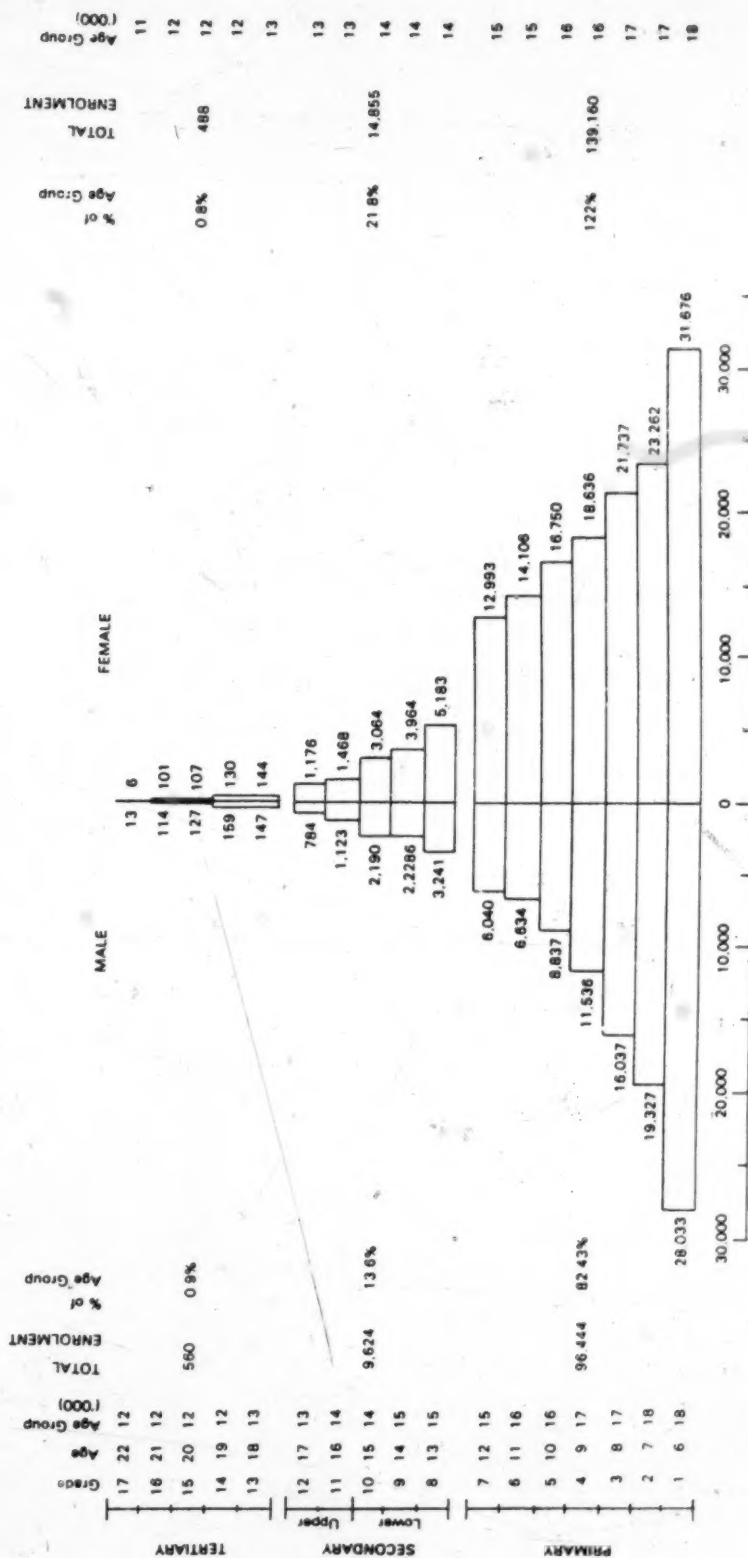
the Christian missions and widespread school attendance is not a recent development.

The gender disparities in enrollment rates prevalent in most African countries are structured differently in Lesotho. The demographic, economic and cultural particularities of this country have resulted in a higher rate of female enrollment in relation to male. Compared to most of Africa, the population of Lesotho is highly educated. Sixty-one percent of all men over the age of 15 and 84 percent of all women have been to school (Sivard, 1985). About half of the men and two thirds of women in their late fifties have some schooling (Timaeus, 1984). However, anthropologist Sandra Wallman asserted that statistics on literacy and education for women in Lesotho are inflated and misleading. Most women received some schooling - some as much as seven years - yet their ability to read and write has been difficult to assess, given the high national drop-out rates and varying standards of literacy (1969).

In order to consider the enrollment statistics in the national context, it is essential to examine the socio-cultural and economic characteristics of the society that results in such disparities. The female population in Lesotho forms 52 percent of the total population. As was mentioned earlier, a lack of local resources has resulted in a high rate of male emigration to the job market in South African mines (between 40 and 60 percent of the male labour force, Palmer 1985). Although certain crops are cultivated, people in Lesotho are essentially involved in animal husbandry and rely for their wealth on herds of cattle and flocks of sheep

and goats. These herds require the constant attention of herdmen. There is a tradition forbidding any contact of women with cattle, therefore with adult males being absent young boys have to herd cattle. Boys are thus frequently unable to attend school because of such duties; or if they do, their attendance is irregular. Table Ten shows the educational pyramid in Lesotho. Table Eleven and Twelve show the enrollments by sex and different grades.

Table Ten: Lesotho Education Pyramid, 1980



Note 1: Enrolments for grades 1 to 7 include over age students

2: Grades 8 through 13 include enrolments in general secondary courses, teacher training courses and vocational and technical courses

*There are also about 376 students studying abroad mainly at the post-graduate level

Adapted from

Source: Education Sector Survey, 1982, Lesotho, Maseru

Table 11: Primary School Enrollment by Sex and Grade Level - March 1982

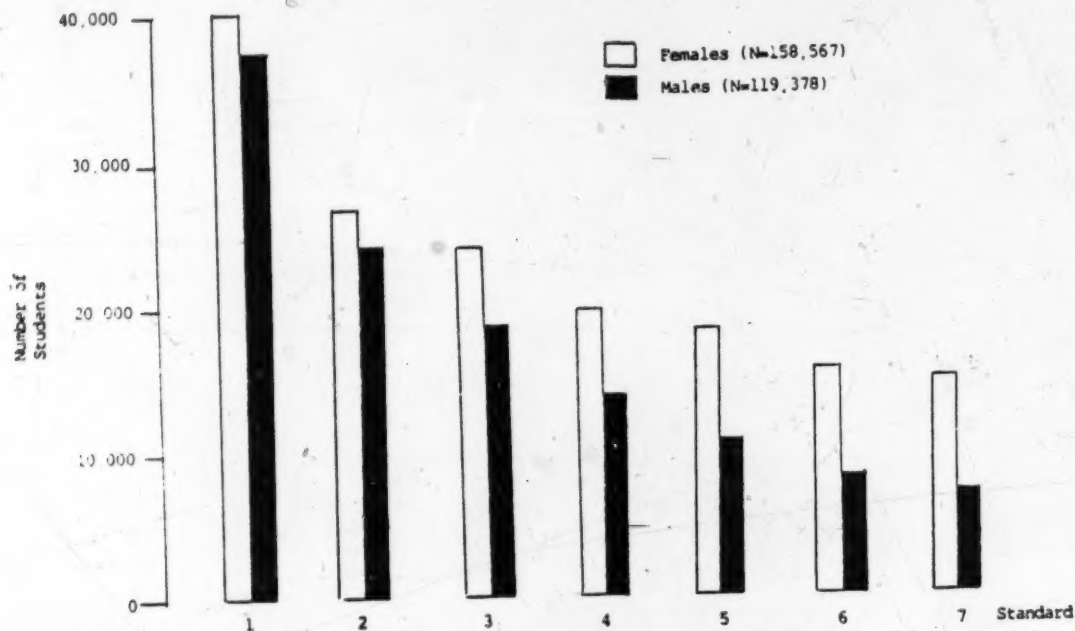
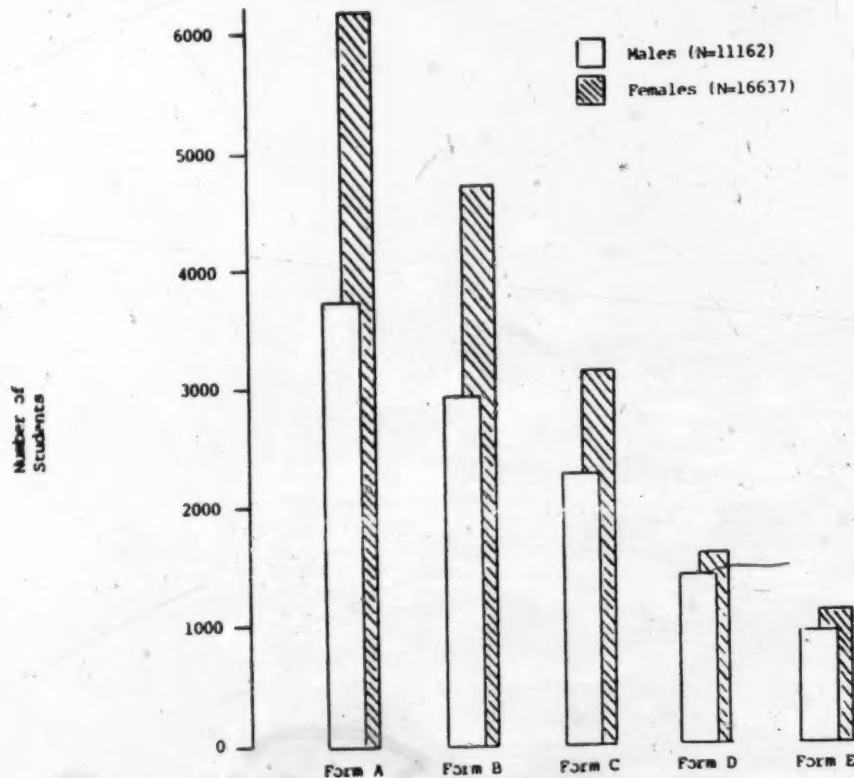


Table 12: Secondary School Enrollment by Sex and Grade Level - March 1982



Source: Educational Statistics 1982. Ministry of Education, Lesotho, 1983.

As can be seen in the tables, the enrollment rates of females are higher than boys. However, as we go up the ladder of educational attainment, the proportions change in favour of males. In 1977, female students constituted 59 percent of enrollments in primary schools in Lesotho. During the following ten years, enrollment rates grew by around 2.3 percent per year, which was nearly the same as the annual rate of population growth (ILO, 1979). While the intake of boys into primary schools grew faster than girls, the composition of enrollment in the secondary schools was the opposite (this is the age at which boys are engaged in herding the cattle). Table 13 shows the differential rates of increase in enrollments of boys and girls from 1960 to 1980:

Table Thirteen: Growth Rate of Enrollments in Schools in Lesotho

	1960-1970		1970-1980	
	Female	Male	Female	Male
Primary Level	1.7%	3.4%	2.7%	3.3%
Secondary Level	20.6%	18.8%	15.9%	12.7%

Source: Compiled from statistics presented in Educational Sector Survey, 1983

It is important to note here that these figures include over aged children (about 34%) and therefore can not be considered as an accurate measure of access. Considering the population composition and the fact that most boys at the secondary level are

not available for enrollment (due to herding duties), one would expect the growth rate of female enrollment at this level to be much higher than the mere 3 percent reported in statistics.

Under the prevailing specific circumstances in Lesotho, in order to analyze the educational opportunities for women, it is useful to examine female enrollments in the context of school age female cohorts as well as comparisons of females with men. The total enrollment in secondary and high schools in 1980 was equivalent to about 15 percent of the male population and 19 percent of the female population between ages of 13 and 17 years (Educational Sector Survey, 1982). A great majority of girls who can and are available to go to school are thus deprived of such opportunities.

Retention Rates in Educational Institutions in Lesotho

The problem facing the primary school system in Lesotho is complicated largely by the incidence of repetitions and drop-outs. Although there is a higher rate of female enrollments at the primary and secondary level, the drop-out rate in Lesotho as in Zambia is extremely high. A study of the progression of pupils from 1971 to 1977 shows that only 28.5 percent of the initial cohort succeeded in completing the six years of primary education. In other words there is a 60 percent drop out rate before the secondary level. All this heavy wastage has continued despite an official policy of automatic promotion (Educational Sector Survey, 1983).

Of those who completed primary education, about half (56%) in 1977 were able to attend a secondary school (ILO, 1979). At the secondary level, only 25 percent make it to the final year of secondary school. The low rate of success in secondary education has resulted in a critical shortage of post-secondary students.

Out of a cohort of 1000 boys who enter standard 1 only about 290 reach standard 7; and out of a cohort of 1000 girls, 515 reach standard 7 (Education sector Survey, 1983). Pupils often have to leave school because there are no higher classes at a school within walking distance. For boys the highest rate of drop-out appears after the first year of primary education and generally they have higher rates of drop-out throughout the primary level. The average child needs nine years to complete a seven-year curriculum with the boys needing more time than the girls (Education Sector Survey, 1983).

The high rate of drop-outs also reflects deficiencies in educational systems, including the content of education offered and methodology used in instruction. The curriculum is geared towards entry and success in secondary school even though the relevance of this education is extremely limited. A report in 1977 by Hawes highlights the irrelevance of the content of primary school curriculum to reality of life in Lesotho. These include the unrealistic demands of foreign language teaching; the foreignness of the content of text books to the needs and interests of children; the lack of relationship between what children learn in schools and the other learning to which they are exposed outside the school. In the rural areas, because of insufficient facilities and

poor conditions, as well as the low quality of teaching at primary level, most students do not acquire the basic skills needed for higher learning. As D'Aeth has observed the majority of the poor are deprived of higher education not only because of economic stigmas, but also because of their poor academic preparation in low quality elementary schools which makes them unfit candidates for higher education (1978).

In addition to the inefficient distribution and operation of schools, the causes of premature withdrawal of female students seem to lie also in the social milieu. Beside the cultural and economic considerations mentioned as barriers for participation and survival of women in educational institutions, the premature marriages and early pregnancies, as was the case for Zambia, can be a major impediment to expansion of schooling among girls, especially at upper secondary years. It appears that there are common causes for both early marriages and low school attendance (Kelly, 1982).

The statistics of women's participation at higher learning institutes reveal that, despite the high rate of enrollment of girls at the primary and secondary levels of education, their participation at the tertiary level lags behind that of men. In 1967, women made up only 25 percent of the University students (Sweet, 1976). During the past two decades this rate has increased (See Table Fourteen). By 1984, 9.3 percent of all men aged 15 or over and 8.5 percent of women have entered into higher education (Timeaus, 1984).

Table Fourteen : Student Enrollments by Sex 1981/82 to 1983/84

	Academic Year		
	1981/82	1982/83	1983/84
Males	603	596	605
Females	536	537	545
Total	1139	1133	1150

Source: Compiled from Students Record, The National University of Lesotho, 1984

The integration of women into development is often compounded when the issues of science and high technology are concerned. The majority of women at the higher levels of education are still enrolled in courses leading to culturally demarcated "feminine" areas of study which leads to feminine areas of employment that occupy lower status and pay. In 1980, in the formal vocational training available in Lesotho out of 1250 students enrolled, 544 girls were enrolled in the home economic courses and only 169 in other vocational courses (educational Sector Survey, 1983). Table Fifteen shows the enrollments in vocational training programs in 1977.

Table Fifteen: Lesotho, Enrollments in Vocational and Technical Education and Training, 1977

Courses	Enrolment in 1977		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Basic Engineering	53	6	59
Basic Electronics	5	4	9
Carpentry and Joinery	83	2	85
Electrical Installation	20	2	22
Home Economics		453	453
Motor Mechanics	75	-	75
Leather Work	11	-	11
Trowel Trades	55	-	55
Plumbing and Sheet Metal	23	-	23
Industrial Arts	23	1	24
Spinning and Weaving	-	35	35
Dress making	-	-	-
Fitting and Turning	-	-	-
Building (Brickwork)	-	-	-
	348	503	851

Source: Adapted from Education Statistics 1977, Ministry of Education, Annual Statistical Bulletin 1977.

In Lesotho, as in Zambia, most of the teachers working without proper credentials are women. In 1982 out of a total of 1574 unqualified teachers in the country, 1303 of them were female teachers (Educational Statistics, 1983).

Outcomes of Educational Attainment

Among the major factors that affect parental decisions concerning educational attainment of daughters, in Zambia as well as in Lesotho, is the issue of outcomes of a woman's education and the extent to which such outcomes meet their expectations and compensate for the costs involved. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, even when education is seen as an investment, the time children spend in school entails costs in terms of activities

forgone. Therefore, the social and economic outcomes and benefits foreseen as a result of the education of women are among the major determinants of their participation. In the final analysis, the parent's decision about sending a child to school is influenced by two major concerns: the amount of work the child could be doing at home while still of school age; and the chance of the education investment paying off in the future in the form of a good, well-paid job that will help the family when the child graduates (Taylor, 1985). It was found in Zambia, for example, that only as daughters of elite families who were educated began to find employment as teachers and nurses were village attitudes towards education of women changed (Scudder and Colson, 1980).

Education, particularly in developing countries, is viewed as a qualification for salaried employment. In the study done by Sanyal, et al, among the University students in Zambia, the majority of students undertake higher education for "acquiring a specific profession" and for "better employment" (1976). Employers frequently rank academic records fairly high as a job selection criterion, to screen applicants (Sanyal, 1976).

A sample of 1976 graduates in Zambia showed that 50 percent entered employment immediately upon graduation, another 37 percent within a month and yet another 13 percent between one and six months (Bardoville, 1982). In a study of the informal sector in Zambia, Todd and Shaw found that 64 percent of workers had some schooling and that the largest group was those with upper primary. Also, within the informal sector, earnings appear to be positively related to educational level

although most obviously for post-primary attainment (1979). According to Hinchliffe, while there is some evidence of an earnings overlap between individuals in the formal and informal sectors, average earnings by educational level are significantly higher in the formal sector (1987).

The economic effectiveness of schooling is commonly known as the social and private rates of return (see Chapter Two). In a compilation of the rates of return to education around the world, including 16 African countries, Psacharapoulos estimates the average social rates of return as: Primary 27, Secondary 17, and Higher 12 percent. In Lesotho, according to him, the social rate of returns to investments in education were: Primary 10.7, Secondary 18.6, and Higher 10.2 percent. The private rate of returns were: Primary 15.5, Secondary 26.7, and Higher 36.5 percent (1985).

Lack of equal representation of women in higher learning institutes indicates that they will be subsequently absent in higher positions of employment and thus unable to contribute in an efficient way to the economy as well as the family. For women, barriers to occupational attainment feed on barriers to educational attainment. Thus, discouragement from educational goals is often based upon the assessment of occupational barriers. Therefore, we need to also examine the extent to which women who receive education use it. As is seen in table fifteen, the rate of unemployment for the educated is about 10 percent higher for women than for men. The gender differences in the rate of educated unemployed in Lesotho is evidence of the fact that, in

this country, the education of women, in comparison to the education of men, is a poor investment (See Table Sixteen).

Table Sixteen: Educational Attainment of Unemployed Persons in Lesotho, 1976

Educational Attainment	Male	Female
Up to Standard 3	63.6%	36.4%
Up to Standard 7	34.1%	65.9%
Junior Certificate	31.4%	68.6%
Matric (High School Certificate)	43.5%	56.5%
Higher Degrees	25%	75%

Source: Compiled from data presented in Options for A Dependant Economy, ILO, 1979 (Original source: Census Provision Data, Table 15B)

In a study done by Sanyal, et al, even expected earnings vary significantly between the two sexes, with males of all ages expecting more than their female counterparts (1976). The difference in actual earnings attained corresponds closely to the differences in expectations. According to his findings, males received quite markedly higher salaries than the female graduates surveyed. This disparity is similar for all occupational categories except clerical workers, where the mean salary for females is higher than for males.

It seems logical to conclude that a primary reason for parents continuing to favour their sons over their daughters for

further education is the outcome issues - the fact that males are able to achieve more with their education and, therefore, be more able to support their parents in later life. Under such conditions, the promotion and facilitation of equal employment opportunities and equal pay for women could lead to a positive shift in the public attitude towards the education of women. As it stands now, the education of women is merely tolerated; a shift in the market outcomes of education for women could result in their encouragement and enthusiasm in pursuing further education.

Based on the government's economic strategy for development, the need for qualified manpower in these countries is evident. In Zambia, in 1974, among the total number of graduates employed in government, parastatal and private sectors, only 38 percent were Zambians and the rest were expatriates. The 1977 Manpower Survey indicated that 48 percent of the total of persons in the high level manpower category were non-Zambians. Major areas of expatriate employment were secondary school teachers and engineers of all types. For those occupations in which there are vacancies and significant numbers of expatriates, Hinchliffe believes that the causes appear to be more a lack of qualified entrants to the required courses rather than a lack of course places (1987).

In the light of the policy concerning localization of jobs and manpower, these statistics indicate an area of concern that requires urgent consideration. Mathematics, science and technology play a vital role in the development of a country. During both the first and second national development decades,

and in the educational reforms of most developing countries, much emphasis has been laid on post-secondary technical and vocational education. However, among women in Lesotho and Zambia, the few that actually go for higher education are often in so-called feminine fields such as the humanities.

Since 1981, in Zambia, there have been increasing difficulties in placing non-science graduates, while there are continuing shortages of science/engineering graduates (Hinchliffe, 1987). Expansion of the public service in most countries was rapid in the 1960s and 70s but has slowed down considerably more recently (Hinchliffe, 1987). In Lesotho, 98 percent of science graduates are employed in the public service and parastatals.

In the summaries of the present and future employment situations for higher education graduates found in the survey of some African countries (including Lesotho and Zambia), Hinchliffe asserts that, in the largest group of countries, the government cannot afford a general expansion of employment and thus the labour market will not be able to absorb the high numbers of humanities graduates in the near future. However, there is an expectation that shortages of science based and professional manpower will remain.

Considering that, in Zambia for example, the annual output of the school of engineering in 1982 was 30 and that the wastage rate at the university level was 48 percent in sciences and 40 percent in engineering (Psacharopoulos, 1980), a major step has to be taken to include and encourage the one half of the population.

hitherto excluded in these fields. A general change of public opinion towards gender specific fields of study is essential if the governments are to utilize all human resources available to them locally. Action with respect to encouraging the female population to participate in higher education through various means of career counselling, hands on experiences, etc., should therefore become a priority in educational system.

Summary and Conclusion

In a comparative study of the three components of access to education for women in Zambia and Lesotho we were faced with differential patterns of enrollment and retention. In Zambia, the enrollment and retention rates are consistently lower for females in relation to males. This includes all educational programs from formal to non-formal and adult education programs. As we go higher in the level of education, the participation of women in relation to men decreases.

In Lesotho, on the other hand, due to demographic, economic and cultural specificities of the country, females outnumber males both in enrollment and in the rate of retention at the primary and secondary level of education. Their participation at the higher levels of education, however, takes a different shape. Although a much larger cohort of girls in relation to boys enter educational institutions in this country, at the tertiary level they are outnumbered by male students. This has not been due to lack of competencies but rather, as a result of a series of economic, social

and traditional factors which conspire against women pursuing higher education.

In considering the outcome of schooling for women - which is a major determinant of their participation - the differential patterns of the two countries nevertheless reveal an identical underlying bias. In spite of the fact that women represent more than half the population in both countries, their representation at the higher levels of education is less than adequate, and in some vocational and engineering fields they are virtually absent. The low level, and the kind of education women receive, restrict them to working in the less lucrative informal sector.

Except for a few, women remain absent in the decision-making and policy making positions, thus their voices are not heard in planning for development in their country. In the educational system itself, although women form the majority of teachers, in relation to men they are less qualified and usually restricted to elementary and junior secondary levels. Very few are in administrative and management positions.

In Zambia and Lesotho, great efforts were made to improve the educational system after independence. These have seldom included special emphasis on, or attention to, the plight of women. In Zambia, for example, in 1975, study groups visited selected countries where alternative programs had been launched (Lulat, 1982) and in 1976 they came up with a report which led to Educational Reform in the country (1977-78). The reform suggested a radical transformation of the educational system which entailed changes in various aspects of structure, content,

methods, organization and facilities. Specific provisions were made in the new system for continuing, nonformal, and vocational programs and special education for the disabled was highlighted. Although the proposed system was to be free of any hierarchical and differentiating elements, the education of women was not given any special attention. There were no provisions suggested specifically to promote the participation of women in educational institutions.

The same pattern occurred in Lesotho where a nation-wide renewal of educational policy was made in 1980. A task force was appointed to review educational policy, examine the existing system of education and its role in the development of the nation and to propose long-term policies. In spite of the data showing that women were in the majority at the primary and secondary levels the proposal did not include special measures for the promotion of women's educational attainment at the higher levels of education. Neither were there specific references made to changes needed in the content of education, and the organization of schools, to make them more relevant to women's life realities in this country.

In the past decades of international development, there have been great economic constraints in the developing world. These include an industrialization strategy relying too heavily on imported inputs. These, subsequently, have resulted in the continuation of reliance on significant numbers of non-Africans in a wide range of occupations. If the government's priorities are rural development, including improvement in agricultural

productivity as well as an increase in productive employment, then there is need, not only for an equitable distribution of welfare and knowledge, but also for special provisions towards the promotion of women's education especially at the higher and vocational levels. The curriculum should combine subjects and training which enables the individuals to achieve and possess occupational competence in a skill or group of skills. Given the fact that women have a fundamental role in the village economy, it is crucial to consider their needs and interests as a basic factor in planning nonformal and adult education programs for rural development.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Conclusion

An Alternative View of Education for Development

In almost all theories concerning development, the role of education and the significance of developing human resources have been emphasised. In some theories concerning the potentials of education, it has been proposed that education is a force capable of affecting social change. Other theories assert that education being shaped by the dominant ideology is merely the reflection of an existing social structure and tends, simply, to perpetuate the status quo. In the two case studies examined in this thesis, as in many other developing societies, evidence shows that both of these apparently contradictory theories are valid. In other words, there is a mutually dependent relationship between education and the socio-economic, political, and cultural structure of a society, and that changes in one influence and cause change in the other. It is in the context of this dialectic, and the role of women in it, that the present thesis has relevance: the education of women develops the capacity of women within the existing matrix while, at the same time, furthering the cause of national development. On the other hand, as will be proposed later in this chapter, the inclusion of women in this dialectic will prepare the ground for a transformation of the matrix itself.

Throughout this thesis the term education has not merely referred to training in a specific craft or skill. Rather it has denoted a learning process which empowers the recipients with

the awareness that they can act and effect change in their life and in the community. Education is a force that increases understanding and autonomy whilst reducing dependencies. Women have suffered for centuries from pathologies of dependency. For them, as for all oppressed peoples, education has meant an expansion of horizons and an opening of alternative options in life. It has provided them with credentials to enter the public life of society.

The general expansion of educational facilities, in the 1960s did not take into account gender differences. We have seen how women have not benefited nearly as much as men from this expansion. As a result they remained, for the most part, deprived of the benefits of development. While women's work has ever been critical for the welfare of the family, conventional models of development have consistently failed to acknowledge and adequately measure women's contribution to development. Nor have they considered the impact of development on women. Current data points to across-the-board gender inequalities with respect to their access to resources, knowledge, and modern means of production. Furthermore, women have been excluded as full participants in the process of decision making at all levels.

The equity reasons for educating women, emphasized in chapter three, referred to the attitudinal effects of education on women as individuals. For women, educational attainment has resulted in growing self-confidence, the ability to question and challenge the status quo, and to seek new alternatives. Education has empowered women to enter the realm of knowledge making, policy planning and decision making thus affecting the economic,

social and political structures at various levels, especially as it affects them.

Education has been instrumental⁸ in the integration of women in development through its effects on personal as well as structural changes. Women's historical and contemporary disadvantaged social position, and their dependent status, qualifies them for special consideration and specific measures to include them in the development process. Many countries have made important changes in women's legal status, however, in order to reduce the gap between legislation and current practices, there is need for a transformation both within the society at large and among women to develop their own capacities and skills. Major changes in women's lives are possible only within a supportive social environment and a corresponding public opinion.

The socio-demographic reasons for educating women were made clear in chapter four. Unbridled population growth has been universally cited as a major obstacle to improving the quality of life and welfare of society. Further education for women, through a variety of mechanisms, leads to reduced fertility. At the level of secondary education a threshold is reached at which an inverse relationship between education and fertility patterns amongst women is consistently established.

Beyond the impact which the education of women has on fertility and the repercussions which fertility has on development, there are other areas in which the education for women as mothers has significance. Since women in many cases are, de facto, heads of household with full responsibility for their own as well as their children's survival, their education directly

leads to better standards of living within the family. Schooled mothers as first educators of children are key role models for the spread of schooling especially among girls. A mother's education and attitudes have great effect on children's perception of roles and behaviour. Women with more education will be able to raise healthier children both in physiological terms and in social norms, inculcating in them values of equality, justice and self-reliance. Thus, women's education significantly influences the foundation of human resources.

The current contribution of women to the domestic economy of the country, and the economic reasons for educating women were elucidated in chapter five. Due to lack of sufficient training and qualification needed for participation in the formal sector, women have remained predominately involved in the informal sector of the economy - this has made their existence as workers 'invisible'. Thus, as a result of development, women have lost status and autonomy. In the process of industrialization, developing countries are invariably short of workers skilled in science and technology. Given this shortage and the fact that women have been overlooked as potential human resources in these fields, the promotion of their higher training and education would lead to economic gains in the country without relying on an imported labour force.

Beyond the economic gains for the country which would accrue from the further education of women, there are social gains to be made by women as a group. In a monetised society with a cash economy the interrelation between status, productivity and decision-making is readily realized. Linkages need to be made

between social, and economic factors in women's lives. Although health care and nutrition information and domestic crafts and skills may be useful they are not in themselves sufficient to improve women's productivity and income, thus, they do little to improve their status or combat poverty. There is a great need for vocational training and promotion of higher education amongst women to facilitate their integration in the economy of the country and expand their options for income-generating activities.

While focusing on the apparently different scenarios of women's enrollment and retention rates in Lesotho and Zambia in chapter six, the common outcomes of education for women in these countries were highlighted. It has been realized that, for women, the availability of educational facilities and, even, enrollments do not guarantee educational attainment. Equality in access to education between the sexes can be meaningful only when social values and practices encourage women to utilize the opportunities.

In Zambia, despite the avowed equality of women, educational opportunities at all levels continue to favour male students at the expense of female pupils. The low enrollment rates and high drop-out rates of female students are not due to inability but to sexist socialization patterns both within the home and in the school system. Socialization and the highly pronounced sex-stereotyping of subjects and fields of study affect women's future careers and limit their employment opportunities. Whilst the country is in great need of a skilled labour force - especially in industrial, engineering and technology fields - the representation

of women at higher levels of education in these fields are minimal. Thus, the country has relied heavily on expatriate labour. However, it has been increasingly evident that if a sustained development is desired all the human resources locally available need to be utilized. The education and training of women unfold great potentials and resources hitherto untapped.

In a country like Lesotho, where women constitute the majority of the labour force within the country, the education of women can provide great possibilities for moving beyond current economic dilemmas. Although women form the majority of enrollments at the primary and secondary levels of education, their participation at higher levels of education does not surpass that of men. Additionally, where employment opportunities are concerned, there is no special provision to promote women's participation in positions of decision-making and policy planning. The present predicament of women in this country demands something beyond equality in educational and employment opportunities to facilitate and promote their integration in the economy of the country.

Development: A New Vision

An overall examination of developmental trends in Third World countries reveals that, so far, such trends have failed to generate equality and social well being for all and, generally, they have not resulted in improvement in the quality of life among the disadvantaged. To this point we have seen that the promotion of higher educational attainment amongst women would result in a great improvement in many dimensions of the development

process. Equity, socio-demographic and economic reasons all point to a need for educating women. The primary intent of this thesis has been to show that the dialectic between education and development can most effectively be enhanced by giving priority to the education of women. One outcome of this dialectical relationship which we have not explored is that when the integration of women in the process of development is achieved, the framework of development will have, perforce, undergone a transformation.

It is appropriate here, therefore, to explore a vision of development which could more adequately encompass and enhance this shift. Other dimensions to progress and development, previously unexplored, must now be taken into consideration. Developmental trends should bring into active coherence socio-cultural, economic and political elements to effect structural changes. It is the quality of growth and social change that makes development meaningful. Ultimately, a new definition of development is required.

Momen has proposed that development be regarded as "a process unfolding as a flower from a bud" (1988:59). In this light, development is not planned, rather the conditions for its occurrence can be created or barriers to this process could be removed. Such a view of development implies a dynamic process through which people and societies realize their full potential and their capability to direct change and to monitor their own progress.

The eradication of social inequalities between individuals in itself leads to conditions in which every member of society is able

to both contribute and gain benefit. In such an outlook to development there is a determination to see every human being as a potential participant. Grass root participation, therefore, becomes inherent to the development process. In the process of institutionalizing the participation of the disadvantaged, the point-of-view of the poor and the oppressed - as well as their struggles, needs, potentials and aspirations - should essentially be taken into account. If development is for change and growth it should value the experience of the people involved. There is a need, therefore, for a systematic mechanism of monitoring progress in the eradication of inequalities.

In congruence with legislation and other provisions which make life opportunities accessible to all there is need for a shift from past standards of cultural and societal operation to new ones that can challenge the dynamics of development. To provide equity and freedom of choice for women is to change the course of history. Women's full participation and involvement leads to filling of the void which society currently experiences (Mahmoodi, 1989). Women's voice and experience must enter the definition of development in determining needs and priorities. The feminine perspective, qualities and priorities should become equally manifested within the society and subsequently reflected in the educational system. The strengths that society has labeled feminine or masculine should be learnt by all.

For the growth of society and its organic evolvement, development goals should come from within a culture in order to be in harmony with the natural and social environment. In this way, education, as an integral part of society, becomes the

instrument of an ever evolving culture and culture becomes the end point of a dynamic process of education. This process becomes the framework for long term strategies of self-reliance and self sufficiency.

Implications of feminine input in development planning

To explore the implications of the inclusion of feminine counterparts in development planning, it is useful to review some of the views and thoughts offered by some feminist thinkers. The dynamics of feminism, in itself, generates a challenge to the status quo - it necessitates a questioning of the current standards, principles, values, and morals that are based on a world view rooted in male experience. The notion of power and control as it influences both ideology and the means of production is, in the light of feminism re-examined. Feminism searches for a human development free of all systems of domination (Sen, et al, 1987).

Gender equality, therefore, implies changes in all other fronts. Change is to be seen as a natural phenomenon, a necessary characteristic of life rather than something to be avoided or feared. On the other hand, differences are to be appreciated and accommodated, instead of condemned. Sen and Grown believe that, in order "to build a social order that is just, equitable and life affirming for all people, our methods must correspondingly be open and respectful of differences and must try to break down hierarchies, power, and distrust" (1987:19). Gilligan observed that because of a series of biological and environmental factors women are inclined toward care (relatedness) in ways that men are not (differentiation). For men morality denotes objectivity, individual

rights, and equality whilst, for women, it means care, flexibility and equity (1982).

According to Ferguson, women tend to emphasize relatedness, and this is in opposition to the current male-dominated system of relations which is highly bureaucratic and rationalistic (1984). "As more and more arenas of our lives become bureaucratic, the depersonalization/alienation process correspondingly expands." (1984:13). Farganis argues that feminism thus becomes "the mode of reconstructing bureaucracy . . . through the notion of power as empowerment, rather than power as coercion or domination . . ." (1986:173). Attitudes of superiority and domination should be constantly and conscientiously worked at and monitored. Since attitudes are learned ways of thinking and acting, education becomes the primary mode for affecting desired changes.

Feminism strives to re-address the notion of relations between the elements of society and between people. The concept of the need for feminine input has been expressed throughout the past decade, but its tenets have yet to be acted upon. These relations have implications for policy making at the societal level as well as within educational systems - their methodologies and content. In the past there has been a tendency to regard different components of development independently and in isolation. The inter-relatedness of all the components of society, nationally as well as internationally, is becoming more and more evident. We can no longer separate production, for instance, from health or from environmental issues. In like manner, the development of women cannot be considered in isolation from national

development, nor can national development be meaningful without the development of women's potentials.

Equality for women is not probable within the existing economic, political, and cultural processes that reserve resources, power, and control for a small group of males. But neither is development possible without greater equity for, and participation by, women. The vision is for a society in which the inhabitants with different resources and capabilities can interact as equals rather than in a state of dependency.

A confluence of the current dominant patriarchal world-view with the emerging feminine world-view will lead to a better balanced, more holistic dynamic in international development, one in which the feminine perspective is upheld and valued as a compliment to the systems presently in place.

The world in the past has been ruled by force, and man has dominated over woman by reason of his more forceful and aggressive qualities both of body and mind. But the balance is already shifting—force is losing its weight and mental alertness, intuition, and the spiritual qualities of love and service, in which woman is strong, are gaining ascendancy. Hence the new age will be an age less masculine, and more permeated with the feminine ideals— or, to speak more exactly, will be an age in which the masculine and feminine elements of civilization will be more evenly balanced (Abdu'l-Baha, cited in *Women*, 1986:13).

The Implications of Feminine Input in Educational Systems

In a situation where women have no voice in shaping the ideological structures of the education and mass media, a

stereotyped view of women usually results. These male-centered gender specific models are not only reflections of society, they become reinforcements and, indeed, the definitions of social reality. Dorothy Smith has pointed out that education - the content as well as methodology - influences and holds control over ideas, symbols, images and acceptable ideology (1987). Schools socialize students in ways that reflect the gender differentiation that occurs in society. Much research has been done on the ways in which schools reward socially appropriate gender role behaviours and how the curriculum contributes to gender stereotyping (Gaskell, et al,1987). Gender stereotypes determine teachers' expectations, which in turn influence pupils' behaviours, academic interests and achievements.

One of the tenets of feminism according to Greenberg, is that sexism robs both women and men of half of the world of knowledge, skills and ability (1983). Historically, curricula have been created and developed by and for men. Naturally they depict a male perspective. Much of traditional research has viewed education from a masculine perspective in all areas of the educational process. Mary Jacobus points out that "although feminists have sought access to education as a means of liberation, this access to a male dominated culture may equally be felt to bring with it alienation, repression, division, a silencing of the feminine, a loss of women's inheritance" (1979:10).

In feminist critiques of science, the search is on for an epistemology that is not male-centred, a balanced outlook to science which, in its present form, as Mahmoodi has asserted is a masculine construction of knowledge (1989). Farganis believes

that : "... science as it has been practised, alienates and contributes to the domination of nature; what is needed is a science that is 'feminized', that is made less alienating by being made more responsive to human needs and more ecological and more concerned with working with and not against the forces of nature" (1986:187). Elizabeth Fee states that rational reflection is not necessarily regarded as more valuable than concern and commitment (1981).

Factors in learning experience that are prerogative of women have not been investigated by the planners and educators (Mezirow, 1978). If education is for growth then the experience of the learner should be valued. Ways of knowing differ between men and women (Belenky, et al, 1986). If women are to be educated their learning experiences need to be given attention. In assessing the learning needs of women, the premise of research, in itself, has to be revised to become more client-centred, relating the curriculum to the role of women in development. Education should help women develop their own authentic voices. In order to improve the value of education for women, women themselves must be given the opportunity to act as active agents of educational change.

Education is a dynamic social process which has to be related to living problems. In brief, there is need for changes in the content of education, the ways in which the content is transmitted and its relevance to the reality of the every day life of women. The vision here is for an educational system which derives from a great moral principle, is carried through by a

supportive and empowering environment, and promotes choices
and alternatives.

Bibliography:

- Ahmed, I.(ed), 1985 : Technology and Rural Women: Conceptual and Empirical Issues. George Allen & Unwin, London.
- Anand, A. 1984: "Rethinking Women and Development". Women in Development. A resource Guide for organization and action. ISIS Women's international information & communication service. New Society Publisher. p.5 -12.
- Bacchus, M. K. 1979: Structural Transformation as a Pre-requisite for the Success of Non-formal Education Programs in economically Less Developed countries. In Canadian and International Education 1979,8(2).
- _____. 1980: Education for Development or Underdevelopment? Guyana's Educational System and Its Implications for the Third World. Wilfred Laurier University Press.
- _____. 1983: Towards a Development Strategy for Education and Educational Research in Third World Countries. In International Journal of Educational Development vol 3 No 2.pp.193 - 201, 1983.
- Bardouille. R. 1984: The Sexual Division of Labour in the Urban Informal Sector: a case study of Lusaka, in Woldring and Cibaye 1984.
- Becker, G. S. 1964: Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education.
- Belenky, M. F. (et al). 1986. Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind. New York.
- Benavot, A. 1989: "Education, Gender, and economic Development: A Cross-National Study". Sociology of Education 1989, Vol.62 (January):14-32.
- Blaug, M. (ed.). 1969: Economics of Education. Harmondsworth, England.

- Boserup, E. 1975: Integration of Women in Development. Why, When, How. United Nation Programme Department; New York.
- _____ 1970: Women's Role in Economic Development. St Martin's Press. New York.
- _____ 1981: Population and Technological Change: A Study of Long-term Trends. University of Chicago. Chicago.
- Boudon, R. 1973: Education, Opportunity, and social Inequality: Changing Prospects in Western Society
- _____ 1973: Mathematical Structures of Social Mobility.
- Brown, L. R. and Jacobson, J. L. 1986: "Our Demographically Divided World" Worldwatch Paper. 74. Worldwatch Institute: Washington D.C.
- Bulatao, R. A. (et al) 1983: Determinants of Fertility in Developing Countries : Supply and Demand for Children. Vol 1. Academic Press
- Bwalya, E. N and Muyunda Mwanalushi, 1980: African Studies, p.55
- Caldwell, J. C. (ed.)1981: "Fertility in Africa" Infertility Decline the the Les Developed Countries. Nick Eberstadt: Prager, New York.
- _____ 1979: "Education as a Factor in Mortality Decline: An Examination of Nigerian Data" Population Studies. 33, pp. 395-413.
- Caldwell, J. C. et al, 1983: "The Social Component of Mortality Decline: An Investigation in South India Employing Alternative Methodologies" Population Studies. Vol. 37.No. 2. (July), pp. 185-205.
- Calkins, M. A. 1975: Women education equity. Unesco.
- Carnoy, M. 1979: Education Innovations in Latin America. Program Report No. 80-B4. Stanford University. I. F. G. Standford.

- Chabaud, J. 1970: The Education and Advancement of Women.
Unesco, Paris.
- Chaudhri, B. P. 1974: "Rural Education and Agricultural Development: Some Empirical Results from Indian Agriculture." World Yearbook of Education. London. Evans. pp 372-86.
- Charlton, S. M. 1984: Women in Third World Development.
Westview Press
- Chileshe, J. H. 1986: Third World Countries and Development Options: Zambia VIKAS Publishing House PVT LTD.
- Cleland, J. and Rodriguez, G. 1988 : "The Effect of Parental Education on Marital Fertility in Developing Countries". In Population Studies, 42(1988), Great Britain, p.419-442
- Cleland, J. and Hobcraft, J. 1985: Reproductive Change in Developing Countries. Oxford University Press.
- Clignet, R. and Foster, P. 1966: The Fortunate Few: a Study of Secondary Schools and Students in the Ivory Coast.
Northwestern University Press. Evanston, Ill.
- Cochrane, S. H. 1979: Fertility. What do we really know?
Washington D.c. World Bank Occasional Paper no. 26.
- _____ 1983: "Effects of Education and Urbanization on Fertility" Determinants of Fertility in Developing Countries Vol 2. Bulatao, R. A. and Lee, R. (eds.) Academic Press: New York.
- Cogswell, B. E. and Sussman, M. B. 1975: Cross- National Family Research. E. J. Brill, Leiden.
- Collver and Langlois, 1962: "The Female Labour Force in Metropolitan Areas: An International Comparison" Economic Development and Cultural Change. Vol. 10. No. 4, pp. 367-385.

- Coombs, P. H. 1968: The World Education Crisis: A Systems Analysis. New York, Oxford University Press.
- _____. 1985: The World Crises in Education: the View from the Eighties. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crone, C. D. 1978: "Research on Innovative Nonformal Education for Rural Adults: Implications for Literacy Motivation" In Literacy Research in Developing Countries SIDA, 1978
- D'Aeth, R. 1975: Education and Development in the Third World. Westmead, England.
- Dauber, R and Cain, M.L. (ed), 1981: Women and Technological Changes in Developing Countries. AAAS Selected Symposium. Westview Press, -Colorado.
- Deble, I. 1980: The School Education of Girls. UNESCO, France.
- Dore, R. P. 1976: The Diploma Disease. London, Allen & Unwin
- Dupont, B. 1981: Unequal Education: A Study of Sex Differences in Secondary-School Curricula. UNESCO Press.
- Durand, J. D. 1975: The Labour Force in Economic Development: An International Comparison of Census Statistics. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Dwyer, D. and Bruce, J. , ed 1988: A Home Divided. Women in Third World. Stanford University Press, Stanford, California.
- Easterlin, R. A. and Crimmins, E. M. 1985: The Fertility Revolution. A Supply-Demand Analysis. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.
- Education Sector Survey. 1982: Report of the Task Force, Maseru, Lesotho
- Education Sector Survey. 1983: Annex to the Report of the Task Force, Maseru, Lesotho.
- Education Statistics Unit, Ministry of Education, 1985: Education Statistics 1983. the Bureau of Statistics, Lesotho, Maseru

- F'A'gerlind, I and Valdelin, J, 1983: Education in Zambia. Past Achievements and Future Trends. Report of a SIDA consultant Team
- F'A'gerlind, I and Saha, L.J, 1983 : Education and National Development: A comparative Perspective. Pergamon Press.
- Farganis, S, 1986: Social Reconstruction of the Feminine Character. New Jersey: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Faruquee, R. and Gulhati, R. (World Bank Staff Working Papers Number 559), 1983: Rapid Population Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa. Issues and Policies. Washington D.C., U.S.A.
- Fee, E, 1981: "Is Feminism a Threat to Scientific Objectivity?" International Journal of Women's Studies 4(1981):378-92
- Ferguson, K. E, 1984: Feminist Case against Bureaucracy. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Findlay, Allan and Findlay, Anne, 1987: Population and Development in the Third World. Methuen, London and New York.
- Fluitman, F. 1975: Zambia: Some Issues Related to Education. Working Papers. ILO, Addis Ababa.
- Freire, P. 1985: The Politics of Education: Culture, Power, and Liberation. Bergin and Garvey, South Hadley, Mass.
- Gaskell, J. S. and McLaren, A. 1987: Women and Education: A Canadian Perspective. Detselig Enterprises, Calgary, Canada.
- Giele, J. Z. and Smock, A. C. 1977: Women: Roles and Status in Eight Countries. John Wiley and Sons: Toronto.
- Gilligan, C. 1982: In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Gould, W. T. S. and Lawton, R. (ed) 1986: Planning for Population Change. Croom Helm, London and Sydney.

- Greenberg, B. S. 1983: Mexican Americans and the Mass Media. Ablex. Norwood N. J.
- Hansen, K. 1980: "When Sex becomes a critical variable: Married women and work". African Social Research, 30(1980).
- Harbinson, F. and Myers. 1969: "Strategies in Human resources Development" in M. Blaug, Readings in the Economics of Education. Penguin Books, Vol II, 13-60
- Hawes, h. 1979: Curriculum and Reality in African Primary Schools.
- Hess, N.P. 1988: Population Growth and Socioeconomic Progress in Less Developed Countries. Praeger Publishers, U.S.A.
- Hinchliffe, K. 1987: Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa. London, Wolfebord.
- Holsinger, D. B. and Kasarda, J. D. 1976: "Education and Human Fertility" Sociology in Population and Development, pp. 154-81.
- Hoogvelt, A. M. M. 1976: The Sociology of Developing Societies. Macmillan, London.
- Hunter College W. S. Collective, 1983: Women's Realities. Women's Choices.
- International Labour Office, 1979: Options for a Dependent Economy. Report by JASPA . Employment Advisory Mission. Addis Ababa.
- Jacobus, M. 1979: Women Writing and Writing About Women. Oxford University Women's Studies Committee, London.
- Jain, A. K. 1981: "The Effects of Female Education on Fertility: A Simple Explanation" Demography. Vol 18, pp. 577-595.
- Jayaweera, S. 1987: "Gender and Access to Education in Asia". International Review of Education 33(4)1987 p.455-466

- Joekes, S. P. 1987: Women in the World Economy. Oxford University Press. In straw.
- Karabel, J. and Halsey, A. H. 1977: Power and Ideology in Education. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Kasarda, J. O. G. 1976 : "Education and Human Fertility, Sociological Perspective". In Ridlker (ed) Population and Development, the Search for Selective interventions.
- Kelly, G. P. and Elliott, C. M. (ed.). 1982; Women's Education in the 3rd World: Comparative Perspectives. State University of New York Press, Albany.
- Kupinsky, S. 1977: The Fertility of Working Women: A Synthesis of International Research. Praeger Publishers, U.S.A.
- Labelle, T. J. 1986: Nonformal Education in Latin America and the Caribbean, Stability, reform or revolution? Praeger, New York, West Port, Connecticut and London.
- Labelle, T. J. and Verhine, R. E. 1975: "Nonformal Education and Occupational Stratification: Implications for Latin America" Harvard Educational Review. 45 (May).
- Leridon, H. and Ferry, B. 1985: "Biological and Traditional Retraints on Fertility. Reproductive Change in Developing Countries. Cleland, J. (ed.). Oxford University Press.
- Lestage, A. 1982: Literacy and Illiteracy. UNESCO
- Mahmoodi, H. 1989: "Feminism in Baha'i Perspective" Journal of Baha'i Studies. Vol 1, No 3, Association of Baha'i Studies, Canada.
- Marden, P. G. (et al) 1982: Population in the Global Arena: actors, values, policies, and futures. CBS College Publishing U.S.A, Canada.
- Mc Donald, J. W. (et al) 1984 : "Socio-economic Factors in Infant and Child Mortality : A Cross-national Comparison". Population Studies. 38(1984), p.193-222

- McNamara, 1977: Possible Interventions to Reduce Fertility. In Population Development Review, March/June 1977:165. New York population Council
- Ministry of Education and Culture, Zambia, 1979: Annual Report for the Year 1979. Lusaka, Zambia.
- Ministry of Education and Culture, Zambia, 1982: Educational Statistics 1980. Lusaka, Zambia
- Ministry of Education, 1978: Report on the Views and Recommendations of the Basotho Nation Regarding the Future of Education in Lesotho. Lesotho, Maseru.
- Ministry of Education, Sports & Culture, 1984: An Educational Manifesto. A Report of the Official Working Party, Lesotho, Maseru.
- Ministry of Education, Zambia, 1976: Education For Development. Draft Statement on Educational Reform. Lusaka, Zambia
- Ministry of Education, Zambia, 1977: Educational Reform. Proposals and Recommendations. Lusaka, Zambia.
- Momen, M. 1988: Baha'i Focus on Development. Baha'i Publishing Trust. Oakham, England.
- Morgan, R. (ed.) 1984: Sisterhood is Global. Anchor/Doubleday.
- Msimuko, A. K. and Khasiani, E. 1981: "Population Policy and development in Zambia: An Evolutionary Perspective". African Social Research no.29-32 1980 - 1981.
- Mumba, E. 1988: "Training for Women in Zambia: A Review of Selected Research". Journal of Studies in the Education of Adults, Vol20, no 2,p.144-52.
- National Curriculum Development Centre, 1985: Selected Educational Statistics. Lesotho, Maseru.
- National University of Lesotho. Academic Activities: Some Useful Statistical Indicators. Lesotho, 1983/84

- Neihoff, R. O. 1977: Non-Formal education and the Rural Poor, report of a conference and workshop - East Lansing: Michigan State University, College of Education, Program of Studies in Non-Formal Education.
- Nelson, N (ed). 1981: African Women in the Development Process. Frank Cass.
- Ohadike, P. 1975: The Population of Zambia.
- _____ 1981: Demographic Perspectives in Zambia: Rural-Urban Growth and Social Change. Zambia.
- Palmer, I. 1985: The Impact of Out-Migration on Women in Farming. Kumarian Press, West Hartford.
- Paolucci, B. (et al). 1976: Women, Families, and non-formal learning Programs. Program of Studies in Non-Formal education, supplementary Series - East Lansing: Michigan State University.
- Psacharopoulos, G. (ed) 1987: Economics of Education: Research and Studies. Pergamon Press.
- _____ 1988: Female Labour Force Participation. World Bank.
- _____ 1985: Journal of Human Resources, Vol 20 - NO 4, Fall 1985
- Psacharopoulos, G. and Woodhall, M. 1985: Education for Development : An Analysis of Investment Choices, World Bank Publication
- Ram, B. M. 1982: Urbanization and Regional Development Concept. New Delhi.
- Reining, P. (et al) 1977: Village Women. Their Changing Lives and Fertility. U.S.A.
- Report of World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico City, 19 June - 2 July 1975, part one, chapter III, resolution 24 (United Nations Publication, Sales No E. 76 VIII

- Research Department of the Universal House of Justice. 1986: Women. A Compilation. National Spiritual Assembly of the Baha'is of Canada, Toronto, Ont.
- Rogers, B. 1980: The Domestication of Women. Discrimination in Developing Societies. St Martin's Press, New York.
- Sanyal, B. C. (et al) 1976: Higher education and the labour market in Zambia: expectations and performance. The Unesco Press. University of Zambia.
- Schultz, T. W. 1961: "Investment in Human Capital" American Economic Review. No. 52.
- Scrimshaw, S. 1981: "Infant Mortality and Behavior in the Regulation of Family Size" Fertility Decline in the Less Developed Countries. Caldwell, J. C. (ed.). Nick Eberstadt: Praeger New York.
- Scott, C. S. O. and Chidambaram, V. C. 1985. "World Fertility Survey ?Origons and Achievemtns" Reproductive Change in Developing Countries: Insights from the World Fertility Survey. Cleland, J. and Hobcrafts, J. (eds). Oxford Universtiy Press: New York.
- Scudder, T. and Colson, E. 1980: Secondary Education and the Formation of an Elite. A University of Zambia Research Enterprise. Academic Press
- Seers, D. 1969: "The Meaning of Development". Eleventh World Conference of the Society for International Development. New Delhi.
- Sen, G and Grown, C. 1987: Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions. Third World Women's Perspectives.
- Shields, 1987: "Female Labour and Education". In Economics of Education, Psacharopoulos, 1987.
- Simmons, J. 1980: The Education Dilema: Policy Issues for Developing Countries in the 1980s. World Bank. Pergamon Press

- Singh, S. and Casterline, J. 1985: "The Socio-economic Determinants of Fertility". Reproductive Change in Developing Countries. Cleland, J. (ed.), pp. 199-222. Oxford University Press.
- Sivard, R. L., 1985: Women. A World Survey. Washington, D.C. U.S.A.
- Smith, D. E, 1987: The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology. North Eastern University Press, Boston.
- Smock, A. C. 1981: Women's Education in Developing Countries: Opportunities and Outcomes. Praeger. New York
- Standing, G. and Sheehan, G. (ed.). 1980: Labour Force Participation in Low-Income Countries. International Labour Organization. Geneva.
- Standing, G. 1981: Unemployment and Female Labour. Macmillan Press Ltd.
- _____ 1976: Female Labour Supply in an Urbanizing Economy. I.L.O. Geneva.
- _____ 1983: "Women's Work Activity and Fertility" Determinants of Fertility in Developing Countries: Supply and Demand for Children. Vol. 1, pp. 517-546. Bulatao, R. A., et al (eds.). Academic Press.
- Sweet, C. F. et al. 1976: Women in Rural Development: A Survey of the Roles of Women in Ghana, Lesotho, Kenya, Nigeria, Bolivia, and Peru. Westview Press, Boulder Colo.
- Taylor, D. 1985: Women: a world report. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Timaeus, I. 1984: Scientific Reports - Mortality in Lesotho: a Study of Levels, Trends and differentials Based on Retrospective Survey Data. International Statistical Institute, Voorburg, Netherlands.
- Tinker, I. (et al) 1975: Women and World Development. Praeger Publishers. London.

Todaro, M. P. 1971: Development Planning: Models and Methods.
Oxford University Press. Nairobi.

_____ 1976: International Migration in Developing
Countries: A Review of Theory, Evidence, Methodology and
Research Priorities. ILO, Geneva.

_____ 1977: Economic Development in the Third World: An
Introduction to Problems and policies in a Global
Perspective. London. N.Y. Longman.

UNESCO 1975: Women, Education, equity: A decade of Experiment.
The Unesco Press.

UNESCO Press, 1975: Women, Education, Equality. France

UNESCO, 1981: Women and development: indicators of their
changing role. Socio-Economic Studies 3.

UNESCO, 1989: Statistical Year Book.

United Nations, 1981: Women and Industrialization in Developing
Countries. Austria.

United Nations, 1983: Relationships between Fertility and
Education: A Comparative Analysis of World Fertility Survey
Data from Twenty-Two Developing Countries. New York.

United Nations, 1985: Socio-Economic Differentials in Child
Mortality in Developing Countries. New York.

United Nations, 1986: World Survey on the Role of Women in
Development. New York.

Unsiker, J. G. 1987: Adult Education, Socialism and International
Aid in Tanzania: The Political Economy of the Folk
Development Colleges. Ph.D. dissertation submitted to the
School of Education and the Committee of Graduate Studies,
Stanford University, Stanford.

Vaughn, G. G and American H. EL Ass, International Family
Planning Project, 1975 : Womens' Roles and Education;

Changing Traditions in Population Planning. American Home Economics association

Ward, K.B. 1984: Women in the World-System. Its Impact on Status and Fertility. Praeger Special Studies. U.S.A.

_____ 1970: "Women and Technology in Developing Countries"
Impact of Science on Society. 20 (Jan. - March)

Wellesley Editorial Committee. 1977: Women and National Development: the Complexities of Change. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.

Woldring, K.(et al) 1980: Beyond Political Independence. Zambia's Development Predicament in the 1980s. Mouton

Woldring, K. (ed) 1984: Beyond Political Independence: Zambia's Development Predicament in the 1980s. Mouton Publishers.

Woodhall, M. 1979: Independent Further Education.

_____ 1981: Education, Work, and Employment: A Summary Review IDRC Publication, Ottawa Canada.

World Bank, 1980, 1981: Education Sector Policy Paper.